



UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

Dar.
DA28
C3
V. 5-8



Darlington Memorial Library



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2009 with funding from
University of Pittsburgh Library System

THE
CABINET PORTRAIT GALLERY
OF
BRITISH WORTHIES.

VOLUME V.

LONDON:
CHARLES KNIGHT & CO., LUDGATE STREET.

1845.

CONTENTS.

	Page
QUEEN ELIZABETH	5
WILLIAM SHAKSPERE	25
SIR WALTER RALEIGH	71
CAMDEN	84
FRANCIS BACON	100
BEN JONSON	118

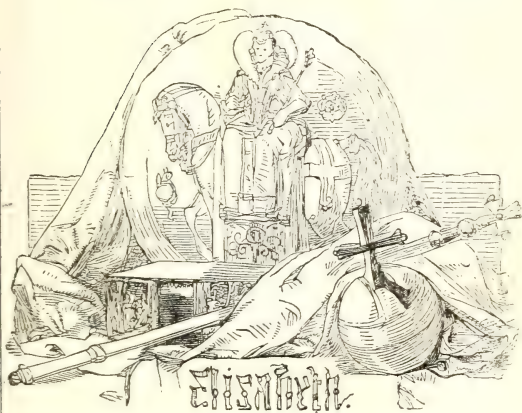


THE END OF THE WORLD

CABINET PORTRAIT GALLERY

OF

BRITISH WORTHIES.



ELIZABETH, Queen of England, was the daughter of Henry VIII. by his second wife, Anne Boleyn, and was born at Greenwich on the 7th of September, 1533. She was not three years old therefore when her mother was brought to the block, in May, 1536. Very soon after her birth it was declared, by the Act 25 Henry VIII., c. 22, that if Queen Anne should decease without issue male, to be begotten of the body of the king, and if the king himself should die without other issue male, then the crown should go "to the Lady Elizabeth, now prin-

cess, and to the heirs of her body lawfully begotten." By the 28 Henry VIII., c. 7, however, passed after his marriage with Jane Seymour, his two former marriages were declared to be unlawful and void, and both Elizabeth and her elder sister Mary were bastardized. But finally, by the 35 Henry VIII., c. 1, passed soon after his marriage with his last wife, Catharine Parr, it was declared that if Prince Edward should die without heirs, then the crown should remain first to the Lady Mary, and, failing her, to the Lady Elizabeth. This was the last legal settlement of the crown, by which her position was affected, made previous to Elizabeth's accession; unless indeed she might be considered to be excluded by implication by the Act 1 Mary, st. 2, c. 1, which legitimized her sister Mary, declared the validity of Henry's first marriage, and pronounced his divorce from Catherine of Aragon to be void.

In 1535 a negotiation was entered into for the marriage of Elizabeth to the Duke of Angoulême, the third son of Francis I. of France; but it was broken off before any agreement was come to. In 1546 also Henry proposed to the Emperor Charles V., with a view of breaking off a match then contemplated between the emperor's son, the prince of Spain, afterwards Philip II., with a daughter of the French king, that Philip should marry the Princess Elizabeth; but neither alliance took place. Elizabeth's next suitor, though he does not seem to have formally declared his pretensions, was the protector Somerset's unfortunate brother, the Lord Seymour of Sudley. He is said to have made some advances to her even before his marriage with Queen Catharine Parr, although Elizabeth was then only in her fourteenth year. Catharine, who died a few months after her marriage (poisoned, as many supposed, by her husband), appears to have been made somewhat uncomfortable while she lived by the freedoms the princess continued to allow Sudley to take with her, which went beyond ordinary flirtation; the scandal of the day indeed was, that "the Lady Elizabeth did bear some affection to the admiral." After his wife's death he was accused of having renewed

his designs upon her hand ; and it was part of the charge on which he was attainted that he had plotted to seize the king's person and to force the princess to marry him ; but his execution in the course of a few months stopped this and all his other ambitious schemes.

In 1550, in the reign of Edward VI., it was proposed that Elizabeth should be married to the eldest son of Christian III. of Denmark ; but the negotiation seems to have been stopped by her refusal to consent to the match. She was a favourite with her brother, who used to call her his "sweet sister Temperance;" but he was nevertheless prevailed upon by the artful and interested representations of Dudley to pass over her, as well as Mary, in the settlement of the crown which he made by will a short time before his death. This transaction has been related in the life of Lady Jane Grey.

Camden gives the following account of the situation and employments of Elizabeth at this period of her life, in the introduction to his history of her reign. She was both, he says, "in great grace and favour with King Edward, her brother, as likewise in singular esteem with the nobility and people ; for she was of admirable beauty, and well deserving a crown, of a modest gravity, excellent wit, royal soul, happy memory, and indefatigably given to the study of learning ; insomuch, as before she was seventeen years of age she understood well the Latin, French, and Italian tongues, and had an indifferent knowledge of the Greek. Neither did she neglect music, so far as it became a princess, being able to sing sweetly, and play handsomely on the lute. With Roger Ascham, who was her tutor, she read over Melanchthon's *Common-Places*, all Tully, a great part of the histories of Titus Livius, certain select orations of Isocrates (whereof two she turned into Latin), Sophocles's Tragedies, and the New Testament in Greek, by which means she both framed her tongue to a pure and elegant way of speaking, and informed her mind with apt documents and instructions ; duly applying herself to the study of good letters, not for pomp and ostentation, but in order to use in her life and the practice of virtue ; insomuch as she was a

kind of miracle and admiration for her learning among the princes of her time.*"

It appears from what Ascham himself tells us in his "Schoolmaster," that Elizabeth continued her Greek studies after she ascended the throne: "after dinner" (at Windsor Castle, 10th December, 1563) he says, "I went up to read with the Queen's Majesty: we read there together in the Greek tongue, as I well remember, that noble oration of Demosthenes against Æschines for his false dealing in his embassy to King Philip of Macedonia."

On the death of Edward, Camden says that an attempt was made by Dudley to induce Elizabeth to resign her title to the crown for a sum of money, and certain lands to be settled on her: her reply was, "that her elder sister, the Lady Mary, was first to be agreed withal; for as long as the said Lady Mary lived she, for her part, could challenge no right at all." Burnet says that both she and Mary, having been allured by messages from Dudley, who no doubt wished to get them into his hands, were on their way to town, when the news of Edward's approaching end induced them to turn back. When Mary came to London after being proclaimed queen, the Lady Elizabeth went to meet her with 500 horse, according to Camden, others say with 2000. Fox, the martyrologist, relates that "Queen Mary, when she was first queen, before she was crowned, would go no whither but would have her by the hand, and send for her to dinner and supper. At Mary's coronation, in October, 1553, according to Holinshed, as the queen rode through the city towards Westminster, the chariot in which she sat was followed by another "having a covering of cloth of silver, all white, and six horses trapped with the like, wherein sate the Lady Elizabeth and the Lady Anne of Cleve." Another account says that Elizabeth carried the crown on this occasion.

From this time Elizabeth, who had been brought up in their religion, became the hope of the Protestant party. Her position however was one of great difficulty. At first she refused to attend her sister to mass, endeavouring

* English Translation in Kennet's Collection.

to soothe Mary by appealing to her compassion: after some time however she yielded an outward compliance. The act passed by the parliament, which, although it did not mention her by name, bastardized her by implication by annulling her father's divorce from his first wife, could not fail to give her deep offence. Availing herself of an order of Mary, assigning her a rank below what her birth entitled her to, as an excuse for wishing to retire from court, she obtained leave to go to her house at Ashridge, in Buckinghamshire, in the beginning of December. About the same time Mary is supposed to have been irritated against her sister by the preference shown for Elizabeth by her kinsman Edward Courtenay, whom, after releasing from the Tower, the queen had restored to his father's title of Earl of Devon, and is said to have had some thoughts of marrying. It appears to have been part of the design of the rash and unfortunate attempt of Wyatt, in the beginning of the following year, to bring about a marriage between Elizabeth and Courtenay, who was one of those engaged in the revolt. This affair involved Elizabeth in the greatest danger. On the 8th of February, the day after the suppression of the insurrection, certain members of the council were sent with a party of 250 (other accounts say 600) horse to Ashridge, with orders to bring her to London "quick or dead." They arrived during the night, and although they found her sick in bed, they immediately forced their way into her chamber, and informed her that she must "prepare against the morning, at nine of the clock, to go with them, declaring that they had brought with them the queen's litter for her." She was so ill however, that it was not till the fourth night that she reached Highgate. Here, says Fox, "she being very sick, tarried that night and the next day; during which time of her abode there came many pursuivants and messengers from the court, but for what purpose I cannot tell." When she entered London great multitudes of people came flocking about her litter, which she ordered to be opened to show herself. The city was at this time covered with gibbets; fifteen had been erected in different places, on which

fifty-two persons were hanged; and it appears to have been the general belief that Elizabeth would suffer, as Lady Jane Grey had done a few days before. From the time of her arrival in town she was kept in close confinement in Whitehall. It appears that her case was twice debated in council; and, although no evidence had been obtained by all the exertions of the crown lawyers which went farther than to make it probable that Wyatt and Courtenay had solicited her to give her assent to their projects of revolt, her immediate destruction was strongly advised by some of the members. Elizabeth long afterwards used to declare that she fully expected death, and that she knew her sister thirsted for her blood. It was at last determined however that for the present she should only be committed to the Tower, although she seems herself still to have been left in doubt as to her fate. She was conveyed to her prison by water on the morning of the 11th of March, being Palm Sunday, orders being issued that, in the mean time, "every one should keep the church and carry their palms." In attempting to shoot the bridge the boat was nearly swamped. She at first refused to land at the stairs leading to the Traitors' Gate; but one of the lords with her told her she should have no choice; "and because it did then rain," continues Fox, "he offered to her his cloak, which she (putting it back with her hand with a good dash) refused. So she coming out, having one foot upon the stair, said, 'Here landeth as true a subject as ever landed at these stairs; and before thee, O God, I speak it, having none other friends but thee alone.'" She remained in close custody for about a month, after which she was allowed to walk in a small garden within the walls of the fortress. On the 19th of May she was removed, in charge of Sir Henry Bedingfield, to Woodstock. Here she was guarded with great strictness and severity by her new jailor. Camden says that at this time she received private letters both from Henry II. of France, inviting her to that country, and from Christian III. of Denmark (who had lately embraced the Protestant religion), soliciting her hand for his son Frederick. When these

things came to the ears of her enemies, her life was again threatened. "The Lady Elizabeth," adds the historian, "now guiding herself as a ship in blustering weather, both heard divine service after the Romish manner, and was frequently confessed; and at the pressing instances and menaces of Cardinal Pole, professed herself, for fear of death, a Roman Catholic. Yet did not Queen Mary believe her." She remained at Woodstock till April, 1555, when she was, on the interposition, as it was made to appear, of King Philip, allowed to take up her residence at the royal palace of Hatfield, under the superintendence of a Catholic gentleman, Sir Thomas Pope, by whom she was treated with respect and kindness. Philip was anxious to have the credit of advising mild measures in regard to the princess, and perhaps he was really more disposed to treat her with indulgence than his wife. According to Camden, some of the Roman Catholic party wished to remove her to a distance from England, and to marry her to Emanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy; but Philip opposed this scheme, designing her for his eldest son Charles (the unfortunate Don Carlos). Elizabeth also was herself averse to a marriage with the Savoyard.

She continued to reside at Hatfield till the death of Mary, which took place on the 17th of November, 1558. The news was communicated the same day, but not till after the lapse of some hours, to the House of Lords, which was sitting at the time. "They were seized at first," says Camden (or rather his translator), "with a mighty grief and surprise, but soon wore off those impressions, and, with an handsome mixture of joy and sorrow, upon the loss of a deceased and the prospect of a succeeding princess, they betook themselves to public business, and, with one consent, agreed that the Lady Elizabeth should be declared the true and lawful heir of the kingdom according to the act of succession made 35 Henry VIII." It is probable that Elizabeth's outward compliance in the matter of religion had considerable effect in producing this unanimity, for the majority of the lords were Catholics, and certainly both the bishops and many of the lay peers would have been strongly inclined

to oppose her accession if they had expected that she would venture to disturb the established order of things. The members of the lower house were now called up, and informed of what had been done by Archbishop Heath, the chancellor. He concluded by saying that, since no doubt could or ought to be made of the Lady Elizabeth's right of succession, the House of Peers only wanted their consent to proclaim her queen. A vote to that effect immediately passed by acclamation; and, as soon as the houses rose, the proclamation took place. Elizabeth came to London on Wednesday, the 23rd: she was met by all the bishops in a body at Highgate, and escorted by an immense multitude of people of all ranks to the metropolis, where she took up her lodgings at the residence of Lord North, in the Charter House. On the afternoon of Monday the 28th she made a progress through the city in a chariot to the royal palace of the Tower: here she continued till Monday the 5th of December, on the morning of which day she removed by water to Somerset House.

One of Elizabeth's earliest acts of royalty, by which, as Camden remarks, she gave proof of a prudence above her years, was what we should now call the appointment of her ministers. She retained of her privy council thirteen Catholics, who had been of that of her sister, including Heath, Archbishop of York, the lord chancellor; William Paulett, Marquis of Winchester, the lord high treasurer; Edward, Lord Clinton, the lord high admiral; and William, Lord Howard of Effingham, the lord chamberlain. But with these she associated seven others of her own religion, the most eminent of whom was the celebrated William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley, whom she appointed to the office of secretary of state, which he had already held under Edward VI. The beginning of Burghley's connexion with Elizabeth has been related in our memoir of that statesman. Soon after, Nicholas Bacon (the father of the great chancellor) was added to the number of the privy councillors, and made at first lord privy seal, and next year lord keeper of the great seal, on the resignation of Archbishop Heath.

Cecil became lord high treasurer on the death of the Marquis of Winchester in 1572, and continued to be Elizabeth's principal adviser till his death in 1598, when he was succeeded by Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst (afterwards made Earl of Dorset by James I.). Of the other persons who served as ministers during Elizabeth's long reign, the most worthy of note were Sir Francis Walsingham (who was principal secretary of state from 1573 till his death in 1590, and was all the time they were in office together the confidential friend and chief assistant of Cecil the premier, under whose patronage he had entered public life), and Burghley's son, Robert Cecil (afterwards Earl of Salisbury), who succeeded Walsingham as secretary of state, and held that office till the end of the reign. Among the other persons of ability that were employed in the course of the reign, in different capacities, may be mentioned Sir Nicholas Throckmorton; "a man," says Camden, "of a large experience, piercing judgment, and singular prudence, who discharged several embassies with a great deal of diligence and much to his praise, yet could he not be master of much wealth, nor rise higher than to those small dignities (though glorious in title) of chief cupbearer of England and chamberlain of the Exchequer; and this because he acted in favour of Leicester against Cecil, whose greatness he envied; Sir Thomas Smith, the learned friend of Cheke, who had been one of the secretaries of state along with him under Edward VI., and held the same office again under Elizabeth for some years before his death in 1577; and Sir Christopher Hatton, who was lord chancellor from 1587 till his death in 1591, and whom Camden, after having related his singular rise from being one of the band of gentlemen pensioners, to which he was appointed by the queen, who was taken with his handsome shape and elegant dancing at a court masque, characterizes as "a great patron of learning and good sense, and one that managed that weighty part of lord chancellor with that equity and clearness of principle as to be able to satisfy his conscience and the world too."

The affair to which Elizabeth first applied her atten-

tion on coming to the throne, and that in connexion with which all the transactions of her reign must be viewed, was the settlement of the national religion. The opinions of Cecil strongly concurred with her own in favour of the reformed doctrines, to which also undoubtedly the great mass of the people was attached. For a short time however she kept her intentions a secret from the majority of the council, taking her measures in concert only with Cecil and the few others who might be said to form the cabinet. She began by giving permission, by proclamation, to read part of the church service in English, but at the same time strictly prohibited the addition of any comments, and all preaching on controversial points. This nowever was enough to show the Catholic party what was coming; accordingly, at her coronation, on the 15th of January, 1559, the bishops in general refused to assist, and it was with difficulty that one of them, Oglethorp of Carlisle, was prevailed upon to set the crown on her head. The principal alterations were reserved to be made by the parliament, which met on the 25th of this month. Of the acts which were passed, one restored to the crown the jurisdiction established in the reign of Henry VIII. over the estate ecclesiastical and spiritual, and abolished all foreign powers repugnant to the same; and another restored the use of King Edward's Book of Common Prayer, with certain alterations, that had been suggested by a royal commission over which Parker (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury) presided. In accordance with this last statute public worship began to be performed in English throughout the kingdom on Whit-Sunday, which fell on the 8th of May. By a third act the first-fruits and tenths of benefices were restored to the crown; and by a fourth, her majesty was authorized, upon the avoidance of any archbishopric or bishopric, to take certain of the revenues into her own hands; and conveyances of the temporalities by the holder for a longer term than twenty-one years or three lives were made void. The effect of these laws was generally to restore the church to the state in which it was in the reign of Edward VI., the royal supremacy sufficing for such fur-

mer necessary alterations as were not expressly provided for by statute. A strong opposition was made to the bills in the House of Lords by the bishops; and fourteen of them, being the whole number, with the exception of Anthony, Bishop of Llandaff, who, Camden says, "was the scourge of his diocese," were now deprived for refusing to take the oath of supremacy. About a hundred prebendaries, deans, archdeacons, and heads of colleges, were also ejected. The number of the inferior clergy however that held out was very small, amounting to no more than eighty rectors and other parochial ministers, out of between nine and ten thousand. On this subject it is only necessary further to state that the frame of ecclesiastical polity now set up, being in all essential particulars the same that still subsists, was zealously and steadily maintained by Elizabeth and her ministers to the end of her reign. The Church of England has good reason to look upon her and Cecil as the true planters and rearers of its authority. They had soon to defend it against the Puritans on the one hand, as well as against the Catholics on the other; and they yielded to the former as little as the latter. The Puritans had been growing in the country ever since the dawn of the Reformation; but they first made their appearance in any considerable force in the parliament which met in 1570. At first their attempts were met on the part of the crown by evasive measures and slight checks; but, in 1587, on four members of the House of Commons presenting to the house a bill for establishing a new Directory of public worship, Elizabeth at once gave orders that they should be seized and sent to the Tower, where they were kept some time. The High Commission Court also, which was established by a clause in one of the acts for the settlement of religion passed in the first year of her reign, was, occasionally at least, prompted or permitted to exercise its authority in the punishment of what was called heresy, and in enforcing uniformity of worship with great strictness. The determination upon which the queen acted in these matters, as she expressed it in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, was, "that no man should

be suffered to decline either to the left or to the right hand, from the drawn line limited by authority, and by her laws and injunctions." Besides the deprivation of their livings, which many of the clergy underwent for their refusal to comply with certain particulars of the established ritual, many other persons suffered imprisonment for violations of the statute of uniformity. It was against the Catholics however that the most severe measures were taken. By an act passed in 1585 (the 27 Eliz. c. 2) every Jesuit or other popish priest was commanded to depart from the realm within forty days, on pain of death as a traitor, and every person receiving or relieving any such priest was declared guilty of felony. Many priests were afterwards executed under this act.

It was the struggle with popery that moved and directed nearly the whole policy of the reign, foreign as well as domestic. When Elizabeth came to the throne, she found the country at peace with Spain, the head of which kingdom had been her predecessor's husband, but at war with France, the great continental opponent of Spain and the Empire. Philip, with the view of preserving his English alliance, almost immediately after her accession offered himself to Elizabeth in marriage; but, after deliberating on the proposal, she determined upon declining it, swayed by various considerations, and especially, as it would appear, by the feeling that, by consenting to marry her sister's husband on a dispensation from the pope, she would in a manner be affirming the lawfulness of her father's marriage with Catherine of Aragon, the widow of his brother Arthur, and condemning his subsequent marriage with her own mother, the sole validity of which rested on the alleged illegality of that previous connexion. A general peace, however, comprehending all the three powers, and also Scotland, was established in April, 1559, by the treaty of Cateau Cambresis. By this treaty it was agreed that Calais, which had been taken by France in the time of Queen Mary, and had formed the only difficult subject of negotiation, should be restored to England in eight years, if no hostile act should be committed by Elizabeth within that period. Scarcely

however had this compact been signed when the war was suddenly rekindled, in consequence of the assumption by the new French king, Francis II., of the arms and royal titles of England, in right, as was pretended, of his wife, the young Mary, queen of Scots. Elizabeth instantly resented this act of hostility by sending a body of 5000 troops to Scotland, to act there with the Duke of Chatelherault and the lords of the congregation, as the leaders of the Protestant party called themselves, against the government of the queen and her mother the Regent, Mary of Guise. The town of Leith soon yielded to this force; and the French king was speedily compelled both to renounce his wife's pretensions to the English throne and to withdraw his own troops from Scotland, by the treaty of Edinburgh, executed 7th July, 1560. The treaty however never was ratified either by Francis or his queen; and in consequence the relations between the three countries continued in an unsatisfactory state. Charles IX. succeeded his brother on the throne of France before the end of this year: and in a few months afterwards Mary of Scotland returned to her own country. Meanwhile, although the two countries continued at peace, Elizabeth's proceedings in regard to the church had wholly alienated Philip of Spain. The whole course of events and the position which she occupied had already in fact caused the English queen to be looked upon as the head of the Protestant interest throughout Europe as much as she was at home. When the dispute therefore between the Catholics and the Huguenots or reformed party in France came to a contest of arms, in 1562, the latter immediately applied for assistance to Elizabeth, who concluded a treaty with them, and sent them succour both in men and money. The war that followed produced no events of importance in so far as England was concerned, and was terminated by a treaty signed at Troyes, 11th April, 1564. A long period followed, during which England preserved in appearance the ordinary relations of peace both with France and Spain, though interferences repeatedly took place on each side that all but amounted to actual hostilities. The Protest-

ants alike in Scotland, in France, and in the Netherlands (then subject to the dominion of Philip), regarded Elizabeth as firmly bound to their cause by her own interests; and she on her part kept a watchful eye on the religious and political contentions of all these countries, with a view to the maintenance and support of the Protestant party, by every species of countenance and aid short of actually making war in their behalf. With the Protestant government in Scotland, which had deposed and imprisoned the queen, she was in open and intimate alliance; in favour of the French Huguenots she at one time negotiated or threatened, at another even went the length, scarcely with any concealment, of affording them pecuniary assistance; and when the people of the Netherlands at length rose in revolt against the oppressive government of Philip, although she refused the sovereignty of their country, which they offered to her, she lent them money, and in various other ways openly expressed her sympathy and good will. On the other hand, Philip—although he refrained from any declaration of war, and the usual intercourse, both commercial and political, long went on between the two countries without interruption—was incessant in his endeavours to undermine the throne of the English queen and the order of things at the head of which she stood, by instigating plots and commotions against her authority within her own dominions. He attempted to turn to account in this way the Catholic interest, which was still so powerful both in England and Ireland—the intrigues of the Scottish queen and her partisans materially contributing to the same end. Mary was not merely the head of the Catholic party in Scotland, but, as the descendant of the eldest daughter of Henry VII., had pretensions to the English crown which were of a very formidable kind. Although she was kept in confinement by the English government after her flight from the hands of her own subjects in 1568, the imprisonment of her person did not extinguish the hopes or put an end to the efforts of her adherents. Repeated rebellions in Ireland, in some instances openly aided by supplies from Spain—the attempt made by the Duke of

Alva in 1569, through the agency of Vitelli, to concert with the Catholic party the scheme of an invasion of England—the rising of the Catholics of the northern counties under the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland the same year—the plot of the Duke of Norfolk with Ridolfi in 1571, for which that unfortunate nobleman lost his head—the plots of Throgmorton and Creighton in 1584, and of Babington in 1586—to omit several minor attempts of the same kind—all testified the restless zeal with which the various enemies of the established order of things pursued their common end. Meanwhile, however, events were tending to a crisis which was to put an end to the outward show of friendship that had been so long kept up between parties that were not only fiercely hostile in their hearts, but had even been constantly working for each other's overthrow behind the thin screen of their professions and courtesies. The Queen of Scots was put to death in 1587, by an act of which it is easier to defend the state policy than either the justice or the legality. By this time also, although no actual declaration of war had yet proceeded either from England or Spain, the cause of the people of the Netherlands had been openly espoused by Elizabeth, whose general, the Earl of Leicester, was now at the head of the troops of the United Provinces, as the revolted states called themselves. An English fleet at the same time attacked and ravaged the Spanish settlements in the West Indies. At last, in the summer of 1588, the great Spanish fleet, arrogantly styled the Invincible Armada, sailed for the invasion of England, and was in the greater part dashed to pieces on the coasts which it came to assail. From this time hostilities proceeded with more or less activity between the two countries during the remainder of the reign of Elizabeth. Meanwhile Henry III., and, after his assassination in 1589, the young King of Navarre, assuming the title of Henry IV., at the head of the Huguenots, had been maintaining a desperate contest in France with the Duke of Guise and the League. For some years Elizabeth and Philip remained only spectators of the struggle; but at length

they were both drawn to take a principal part in it. The French war, however, so far as Elizabeth was concerned, must be considered as only another appendage to the war with Spain ; it was Philip chiefly, and not the League, that she opposed in France ; just as in the Netherlands, and formerly in Scotland, it was not the cause of liberty against despotism, or of revolted subjects against their legitimate sovereign, that she supported, or even the cause of Protestantism against Catholicism, but her own cause against Philip, her own right to the English throne against his, or that of the competitor with whom he took part. Since the death of Mary of Scotland, Philip professed to consider himself as the rightful king of England, partly on the ground of his descent from John of Gaunt, partly in consequence of Mary having by her will bequeathed her pretensions to him should her son persist in remaining a heretic. Henry IV., having previously embraced Catholicism, made peace with Philip by the treaty of Vervins, concluded in May, 1598 ; and the death of Philip followed in September of the same year. But the war between England and Spain was nevertheless still kept up. In 1601 Philip III. sent a force to Ireland, which landed in that country and took the town of Kinsale ; and the following year Elizabeth retaliated by fitting out a naval expedition against her adversary, which captured some rich prizes, and otherwise annoyed the Spaniard. Her forces also continued to act in conjunction with those of the Seven United Provinces both by sea and land.

Elizabeth died on the 24th of March, 1603, in the 70th year of her age and the 45th of her reign. In the very general account to which we have necessarily confined ourselves of the course of public transactions during the long period of the English annals with which her name is associated, we have omitted all reference to many subordinate particulars, which yet strongly illustrate both her personal conduct and character and the history of her government. One of the first requests addressed to her by the parliament after she came to the throne was that she would marry ; but for reasons which were pro-

bably various, though with regard to their precise nature we are rather left to speculation and conjecture than possessed of any satisfactory information, she persisted in remaining single to the end of her days. Yet she coqueted with many suitors almost to the last. In the beginning of her reign, among those who aspired to her hand, after she had rejected the offer of Philip of Spain, were Charles, Archduke of Austria (a younger son of the Emperor Ferdinand I.) : James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, the head of the Protestant party in Scotland ; Erick XIV., King of Sweden (whom she had refused in the reign of her sister Mary) ; and Adolphus, Duke of Holstein (uncle to Ferdinand II. of Denmark). “ Nor were there wanting at home,” adds Camden, “ some persons who fed themselves (as lovers used to do) with golden dreams of marrying their sovereign ;” and he mentions particularly Sir William Pickering, “ a gentleman well born, of a narrow estate, but much esteemed for his learning, his handsome way of living, and the management of some embassies into France and Germany ;” Henry, Earl of Arundel : and Robert Dudley (afterwards the famous Earl of Leicester), a younger son of the Duke of Northumberland, “ restored by Queen Mary to his honour and estate : a person of youth and vigour, and of a fine shape and proportion, whose father and grandfather were not so much hated by the people, but he was as high in the favour of Queen Elizabeth, who out of her royal and princely clemency heaped honours upon him, and saved *his* life whose father would have destroyed *hers*.” Leicester continued the royal favourite till his death in 1588 ; certainly, whatever may be thought of the worst imputations that have been thrown upon him, showing himself little deserving of the honours and grants that were lavished upon him by his partial sovereign, who, having appointed him commander-in-chief of the forces which she sent to the assistance of the Dutch, insisted upon maintaining him in that situation, notwithstanding the mischiefs produced by his incapacity and misconduct, and, at the perilous crisis of the Spanish invasion, was on the point of constituting him lieutenant-

governor of England and Ireland. Camden says that the letters patent were already drawn, when Burghley and Hatton interfered, and put a stop to the matter. Of the foreign princes that have been mentioned, the Archduke Charles persisted longest in his suit: a serious negotiation took place on the subject of the match in 1567, but it came to nothing. In 1571 proposals were made by Catherine de Medicis for a marriage between Elizabeth and her son Charles IX., and afterwards in succession with her two younger sons, Henry, Duke of Anjou (afterwards Henry III.), and Francis, Duke of Alençon (afterwards Duke of Anjou). The last match was again strongly pressed some years after; and in 1581 the arrangement for it had been all but brought to a conclusion, when, at the last moment, Elizabeth drew back, declining to sign the marriage articles after she had taken up the pen for the purpose. Very soon after the death of Leicester the young Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, whose mother Leicester had married, was taken into the same favour that had been so long enjoyed by the deceased nobleman; and his tenure of the royal partiality lasted, with some intermissions, till he destroyed himself by his own hot-headedness and violence. He was executed for a frantic attempt to excite an insurrection against the government in 1601. Elizabeth, however, never recovered from this shock; and she may be said to have sealed her own sentence of death in signing the death-warrant of Essex.

Both the personal character of Elizabeth and the character of her government have been estimated very differently by writers of opposite parties. That she had great qualities will hardly be disputed by any one who duly reflects on the difficulties of the position she occupied, the consummate policy and success with which she directed her course through the dangers that beset her on all sides, the courage and strength of heart that never failed her, the imposing attitude she maintained in the eyes of foreign nations, and the admiration and pride of which she was the object at home. She was undeniably endowed with great good sense, and with a true feeling

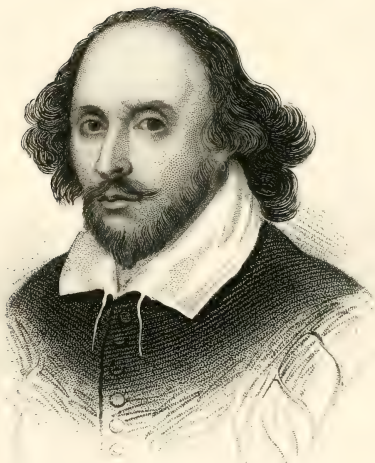
of what became her place. The weaknesses, and also the more forbidding features of her character, on the other hand, are so obvious as scarcely to require to be specified. Many of the least respectable mental peculiarities of her own sex were mixed in her with some of the least attractive among those of the other. Her selfishness and her vanity were both intense—and of the sympathetic affections and finer sensibilities of every kind she was nearly destitute.

Her literary knowledge was certainly very considerable; but of her compositions (a few of which are in verse) none are of much value. nor evidence any very superior ability, with the exception perhaps of some of her speeches to the parliament. A list of the pieces attributed to her may be found in Walpole's 'Royal and Noble Authors.'

There has been a good deal of controversy as to the proportion in which the elements of liberty and despotism were combined in the English constitution, or in the practice of the government, in the reign of Elizabeth; the object of one party being to convict the Stuarts of deviating into a new course in those exertions of the prerogative and that resistance to the popular demands which led to the civil wars of the seventeenth century,—of the other, to vindicate them from that charge, by showing that the previous government of Elizabeth had been as arbitrary as theirs. Upon this question the reader may consult the elaborate exposition with which Hume closes his account of this reign, along with the remarks upon it in the Introduction to Mr. Brodie's 'History of the British Empire, from the Accession of Charles I. to the Restoration.' There can be no doubt that the first James and the first Charles pursued their object with much less art, and much less knowledge and skill in managing the national character, as well as in less advantageous circumstances, than Elizabeth and her ministers; they did not know nearly so well when to resist and when to yield as she did; but it may notwithstanding be reasonably questioned if her notion of the rightful supremacy of the crown was very different

from theirs. However constitutional also (in the modern sense of the term) may have been the general course of her government, her occasional practice was certainly despotic enough. She never threw aside the sword of the prerogative, although she may have usually kept it in its scabbard.

Her reign, however, take it all in all, was a happy as well as a glorious one for England. The kingdom, under her government, acquired and maintained a higher and more influential place among the states of Europe, principally by policy, than it had ever been raised to by the most successful military exertions of former ages. Commerce flourished and made great advances, and wealth was much more extensively and more rapidly diffused among the body of the people than at any former period. It is the feeling of progress, rather than any degree of actual attainment, that keeps a nation in spirits; and this feeling every thing conspired to keep alive in the hearts of the English in the age of Elizabeth; even the remembrance of the stormy times of their fathers, from which they had escaped, lending its aid to heighten the enjoyment of the present calm. To these happy circumstances of the national condition was owing, above all, and destined to survive all their other products, the rich native literature, more especially in poetry and the drama, which now rushed up, as if from the tillage of a virgin soil, covering the land with its perennial fruit and flowers. Spenser and Shakspeare, Beaumont and Fletcher, Raleigh and Bacon, and many other distinguished names gained their earliest celebrity in the Elizabethan age.



WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.



On the 22nd of August, 1485, there was a battle fought for the crown of England, a short battle ending in a decisive victory. The battle-field was Bosworth. Was there in that victorious army of the Earl of Richmond an Englishman bearing the name of Chacksper, or Shakespneyre, or Schakspere, or Schakespeire, or Schakspere, or Shakespere, or Shakespere,*—a martial name, however spelt? Of the warlike achievements of this Shakspere there is no record: his name or his deeds would have no interest for us unless there had been born, eighty years after this battle-day, a direct descendant from him—

* A list of the brethren and sisters of the Guild of Knowle, near Rowington, in Warwickshire, exhibits a great number of the name of Shakspere in that fraternity, from about 1460 to 1527; and the names are spelt with the diversities here given, *Shakspere* being the latest.

“Whose muse, full of high thought’s invention,
Doth like himself *heroically sound* ;”*—

a Shakspeare of whom it was also said—

“He seems *to shake a lance*
As brandish’d at the eyes of ignorance.”†

A public document bearing the date of 1596 affirms of John Shakspeare of Stratford-upon-Avon, the father of William Shakspeare, that his “parent and late antecessors were, for their *valiant* and faithful services, advanced and rewarded of the most prudent prince King Henry VII. of famous memory ;” and it adds, “sithence which time they have continued at those parts [Warwickshire] in good reputation and credit.” Another document of a similar character, bearing the date of 1599, also affirms upon “creditable report,” of “John Shakspeare, now of Stratford-upon-Avon in the county of Warwick, gentleman,” that his “parent and great-grandfather, late antecessor, for his faithful and approved service to the late most prudent prince King Henry VII. of famous memory, was advanced and rewarded with lands and tenements, given to him in those parts of Warwickshire, where they have continued by some descents in good reputation and credit.” Such are the recitals of two several grants of arms to John Shakspeare, confirming a previous grant made to him in 1569.

The great-grandson of the faithful and approved servant of Henry VII., John Shakspeare, was a burgess of the corporation of Stratford, and was in all probability born about 1530. The family had continued in those parts, “by some descents ;” but how they were occupied in the business of life, what was their station in society, how they branched out into other lines of Shaksperes, we have no record.

In 1599 John Shakspeare a second time went to the College of Arms, and producing his own “ancient coat of arms,” said that he had “married the daughter and one of the heirs of Robert Arden, of Wellingcote :” and

* Spenser.

† Ben Jonson,

then the heralds say—"We have likewise upon one other escutcheon impaled the same with the ancient arms of the said Arden of Wellingcote." They add that John Shakspeare, and his children, issue, and posterity, may bear and use the same shield of arms, single or impaled.

The family of Arden was one of the highest antiquity in Warwickshire. Dugdale traces its pedigree uninterruptedly up to the time of Edward the Confessor. The pedigree which Dugdale gives of the Arden family brings us no nearer in the direct line to the mother of Shakspeare than to Robert Arden, her great-grandfather: he was the third son of Walter Arden, who married Eleanor the daughter of John Hampden, of Buckinghamshire; and he was brother of Sir John Arden, squire for the body to Henry VII. Robert's son, also called Robert, was groom of the chamber to Henry VII. He married, and he had a son, also Robert, who married Agnes Webbe. Their youngest daughter was Mary, the mother of William Shakspeare.

High as was her descent, wealthy and powerful as were the numerous branches of her family, Mary Arden, we doubt not, led a life of usefulness as well as innocence, within her native forest hamlet. She had three sisters, and they all, with their mother Agnes, survived their father, who died in December, 1556. His will is dated the 24th of November in the same year, and the testator styles himself "Robert Arden, of Wylmcote, in the paryche of Aston Cauntlow." Mary, his youngest daughter, from superiority of mind, or some other cause of her father's confidence, occupies the most prominent position in the will. She has an undivided estate and a sum of money; and, from the crop being also bequeathed to her, it is evident that she was considered able to continue the tillage. The estate thus bequeathed to her consisted of about sixty acres of arable and pasture, and a house; and was called Asbies.

In the winter of 1556 was Mary Arden left without the guidance of a father, under this somewhat naked roof-tree, now become her own. Her sister Alice was

to occupy another property in Wilmecote with her mother, provided the widow would so consent; and she did consent. And so she lived a somewhat lonely life, till a young yeoman of Stratford, who had probably some acquaintance with her father, came to sit oftener and oftener upon the wooden benches in the old hall—a substantial yeoman, a burgess of the corporation in 1557 or 1558; and then in due season Mary Arden and John Shakspeare were standing before the altar of the parish church of Aston Cantlow, and the house and lands of Asbies became administered by one who took possession “by the right of the said Mary,” who thenceforward abided for half a century in the good town of Stratford.

There have been endless theories, old and new, affirmations, contradictions, as to the worldly calling of John Shakspeare. There are ancient registers in Stratford, minutes of the Common Hall, proceedings of the Court-leet, pleas of the Court of Record, writs which have been hunted over with unwearied diligence, and yet they tell us nothing, or next to nothing, of John Shakspeare. When he was elected an alderman in 1565, we can trace out the occupations of his brother aldermen, and readily come to the conclusion that the municipal authority of Stratford was vested, as we may naturally suppose it to have been, in the hands of substantial tradesmen, brewers, bakers, butchers, grocers, victuallers, mercers, woollen-drapers. Prying into the secrets of time, we are enabled to form some notion of the literary acquirements of this worshipful body. On rare, very rare occasions, the aldermen and burgesses constituting the town council affixed their signatures, for greater solemnity, to some order of the court; and on the 29th of September, in the seventh of Elizabeth, upon an order that John Wheler should take the office of bailiff, we have nineteen names subscribed, aldermen and burgesses. There is something in this document which suggests a motive higher than mere curiosity for calling up these dignitaries from their happy oblivion, saying to each, “Dost thou use to write thy name? or hast thou a mark to thyself like an honest plain-dealing man?”

Alas! out of the nineteen, seven only can answer, "I thank God I have been so well brought up that I can write my name." It is a matter of controversy whether John Shakspeare was one of the more clerkly corporators. In 1556, the year that Robert, the father of Mary Arden, died, John Shakspeare was admitted at the court-leet to two copyhold estates in Stratford. The jurors of the leet present that George Turner had alienated to John Shakspeare and his heirs one tenement, with a garden and croft, and other premises, in Grenehyl-street, held of the lord at an annual quit-rent; and John Shakspeare, who is present in court and does fealty, is admitted to the same. The same jurors present that Edward West has alienated to John Shakspeare one tenement and a garden adjacent in Henley Street, who is in the same way admitted upon fealty done to the lord. Here then is John Shakspeare, before his marriage, the purchaser of two copyholds in Stratford, both with gardens, and one with a croft, or small enclosed field. In 1570 John Shakspeare is holding, as tenant under William Clopton, a meadow of fourteen acres, with its appurtenances, called Ingon, at the annual rent of eight pounds. This rent, equivalent to at least forty pounds of our present money, would indicate that the appurtenance included a house,—and a very good house. This meadow of Ingon forms part of a large property known by that name near Clopton House. When John Shakspeare married, the estate of Asbies, within a short ride of Stratford, came also into his possession. With these facts before us, scanty as they are, can we reasonably doubt that John Shakspeare was living upon his own land, renting the land of others, actively engaged in the business of cultivation, in an age when tillage was becoming rapidly profitable,—so much so that men of wealth very often thought it better to take the profits direct than to share them with the tenant?

And is all this, it may be said, of any importance in looking at the life of William Shakspeare—a man who stands above all other individual men, above all ranks of men; in comparison with whom, in his permanent

influence upon mankind, generations of nobles, fighting men, statesmen, princes, are but as dust? It is something, we think. It offers a better, because a more natural, explanation of the circumstances connected with the early life of the great poet than those stories which would make him of obscure birth and servile employments. Take old Aubrey's story, the shrewd learned gossip and antiquary, who survived Shakspeare some eighty years:—"Mr. William Shakspeare was born at Stratford-upon-Avon, in the county of Warwick. His father was a butcher, and I have been told heretofore by some of the neighbours that when he was a boy he exercised his father's trade; but when he killed a calf he would do it in a high style, and make a speech. There was at that time another butcher's son in this town that was held not at all inferior to him for a natural wit, his acquaintance and coetanean, but died young." The story, however, has a variation. There was at Stratford, in the year 1693, a clerk of the parish church, eighty years old,—that is, he was three years old when William Shakspeare died,—and he, pointing to the monument of the poet, with the pithy remark that he was the "best of his family," proclaimed to a member of one of the Inns of Court that "this Shakspeare was formerly in this town bound apprentice to a butcher, but that he ran from his master to London." His father was a butcher, says Aubrey; he was apprenticed to a butcher, says the parish clerk.

Akin to the butcher's trade is that of the dealer in wool. It is upon the authority of Betterton, the actor, who, in the beginning of the last century, made a journey into Warwickshire to collect anecdotes relating to Shakspeare, that Rowe tells us that John Shakspeare was a dealer in wool:—"His family, as appears by the register and public writings relating to that town, were of good figure and fashion there, and are mentioned as gentlemen. His father, who was a considerable dealer in wool, had so large a family, ten children in all, that, though he was his eldest son, he could give him no better education than his own employment." Tradition

is here, we think, becoming a little more assimilated with the truth. The considerable dealer in wool might very well have been the landed proprietor, the cultivator, that we believe John Shakspeare to have been. Nor indeed was the incidental business even of a butcher, a slayer and seller of carcasses, incompatible with that occupation of a landholder. Harrison (1590), who mingles laments at the increasing luxury of the farmer with somewhat contradictory denouncements of the oppression of the tenant by the landlord, holds that the landlord is monopolising the tenant's profits:—"Most sorrowful of all to understand, that men of great port and countenance are so far from suffering their farmers to have any gain at all, that *they themselves become graziers, BUTCHERS, tanners, SHEEPMASTERS, woodmen, and denique quid non*, thereby to enrich themselves, and bring all the wealth of the country into their own hands, leaving the commonalty weak, or as an idol with broken or feeble arms, which may in time of peace have a plausible show, but, when necessity shall enforce, have an heavy and bitter sequel." Has not Harrison solved the mystery of the butcher, and explained the tradition of the woolman?

There is an entry in the Bailiff's Court of Stratford, in 1555, which shows us one John Shakspeare, a glover. It does not follow that if this record be of the father of William Shakspeare, a young man in 1555, that he was always a glover. If he were a glover in 1555, he was subsequently a holder of land—a land proprietor.

The Register of Baptisms of the parish of Stratford-upon-Avon shows that William, the son of John Shakspeare, was baptized on the 26th April, 1564. And when born? The want of such information is a defect in all parish-registers. Baptism so immediately followed birth in those times, when infancy was surrounded with greater dangers than in our own days of improved medical science, that we may believe that William Shakspeare first saw the light only a day or two previous to this legal record of his existence. There is no direct

evidence that he was born on the 23rd of April, according to the common belief. But there was probably a tradition to that effect; for some years ago the Rev. Joseph Greene, a master of the grammar-school at Stratford, in an extract which he made from the Register of Shakspeare's baptism, wrote in the margin, "Born on the 23rd." We turn back to the first year of the registry, 1558, and we find the baptism of Joan, daughter to John Shakspeare, on the 15th of September. Again, in 1562, on the 2nd of December, Margaret, daughter to John Shakspeare, is baptized. In the entry of burials in 1563 we find, under date of April 30, that Margaret closed a short life in five months. We look forward, and in 1566 find the birth of another son registered:—Gilbert, son of John Shakspeare, was baptized on the 13th of October of that year. In 1569 there is the registry of the baptism of a daughter, Joan, daughter of John Shakspeare, on the 15th of April. Thus, the registry of a second Joan leaves no reasonable doubt that the first died, and that a favourite name was preserved in the family. In 1571 another daughter was born,—Anne, daughter of Master John Shakspeare, baptized on the 28th of September. In 1574 another son was baptized,—Richard, son of Master John Shakspeare, on the 11th of March. The register of sorrow and blighted hope shows that Anne was buried on the 4th of April, 1579. The last entry, which determines the extent of John Shakspeare's family, is that of Edmund, son of Master John Shakspeare, baptized on the 3rd of May, 1580. Here, then, we find that two sisters of William were removed by death, probably before his birth. In two years and a half another son, Gilbert, came to be his playmate; and when he was five years old that most precious gift to a loving boy was granted, a sister, who grew up with him. Then came another sister, who faded untimely. When he was ten years old he had another brother to lead by the hand into the green meadows. When he was grown into youthful strength, a boy of sixteen, his youngest brother was born. William, Gilbert, Joan, Richard, Edmund, constituted the

whole of the family amongst whom John Shakspeare was to share his means of existence. Rowe, we have already seen, mentions the large family of John Shakspeare, "ten children in all." Malone has established very satisfactorily the origin of this error into which Rowe has fallen. In later years there was another John Shakspeare in Stratford. In the books of the corporation the name of John Shakspeare, shoemaker, can be traced in 1586; in the register in 1584 we find him married to Margery Roberts, who dies in 1587; he is without doubt married a second time, for in 1589, 1590, and 1591, Ursula, Humphrey, and Philip are born. It is unquestionable that these are not the children of the father of William Shakspeare, for they are entered in the register as the daughter, or sons, of John Shakspeare, without the style which our John Shakspeare always bore after 1569—"Magister." There can be no doubt that the mother of all the children of *Master* John Shakspeare was Mary Arden; for in proceedings in Chancery in 1597 it is set forth that John Shakspeare and his wife Mary, in the 20th Elizabeth, 1577, mortgaged her inheritance of Asbies. Nor can there be a doubt that the children born before 1569, when he is styled John Shakspeare without the honourable addition of *Master*, were also *her* children; for in 1599, when *William* Shakspeare is an opulent man, application is made to the College of Arms, that John Shakspeare, and his issue and posterity, might use a "shield of arms" impaled with the arms of Shakspeare and Arden. This application would in all probability have been at the instance of John Shakspeare's eldest son and heir. The history of the family up to the period of William Shakspeare's manhood is as clear as can reasonably be expected.

The year of William Shakspeare's birth was a fearful year for Stratford. The plague raged with terrific violence in the little town. It was the same epidemic which ravaged Europe in that year; which in the previous year had desolated London, and still continued there. The red cross was probably not on the door of

John Shakspeare's dwelling. "Fortunately for mankind," says Malone, "it did not reach the house where the infant Shakspeare lay; for not one of that name appears on the dead list."

The parish of Stratford, then, was unquestionably the birth-place of William Shakspeare. But in what part of Stratford dwelt his parents in the year 1564? It was ten years after this that his father became the purchaser of two freehold houses in Henley Street—houses which still exist. Nine years before William Shakspeare was born, his father had also purchased two copyhold tenements in Stratford—one in Greenhill Street, one in Henley Street. The copyhold house in Henley Street, purchased in 1555, was unquestionably not one of the freehold houses in the same street purchased in 1574; yet, from Malone's loose way of stating that in 1555 the *lease* of a house in Henley Street was assigned to John Shakspeare, it has been conjectured that he purchased in 1574 the house he had occupied for many years. As he purchased two houses in 1555 in different parts of the town, it is not likely that he occupied both; he might not have occupied either. Before he purchased the two houses in Henley Street, in 1574, he occupied fourteen acres of meadow-land, with appurtenances, at a very high rent; the property is called Ingon meadow in "the Close Rolls." Dugdale calls the place where it was situated "Inge;" saying that it was a member of the manor of Old Stratford, "and signifyeth in our old English a meadow or low ground, the name well agreeing with its situation." It is about a mile and a quarter from the town of Stratford, on the road to Warwick. William Shakspeare, then, might have been born at either of his father's copyhold houses, in Greenhill Street, or in Henley Street; he might have been born at Ingon; or his father might have occupied one of the two freehold houses in Henley Street at the time of the birth of his eldest son. Tradition says that William Shakspeare *was* born in one of these houses; tradition points out the very room in which he was born. Let us not disturb the belief. To look upon that ancient house—perhaps now one

of the oldest in Stratford—pilgrims have come from every region where the name of Shakspeare is known. The property passed into a younger branch of the poet's family; the descendants of that branch grew poorer and poorer; they sold off its orchards and gardens; they divided and subdivided it into smaller tenements; it became partly a butcher's shop, partly a little inn. The external appearance was greatly altered, and its humble front rendered still humbler. The windows in the roof were removed; and the half which had become the inn received a new brick casing. The central portion is that which is now shown as the birth-place of the illustrious man—"the myriad-minded."

There is a passage in one of Shakspeare's Sonnets, the 89th, which has induced a belief that he had the misfortune of a physical defect, which would render him peculiarly the object of maternal solicitude:—

"Say that thou didst forsake me for some fault,
And I will comment upon that offence:
Speak of my *lameness*, and I straight will halt;
Against thy reasons making no defence."

Again, in the 37th Sonnet:—

"As a decrepit father takes delight
To see his active child do deeds of youth,
So I, made *lame* by fortune's dearest spite,
Take all my comfort of thy worth and truth."

These lines have been interpreted to mean that William Shakspeare was literally lame, and that his lameness was such as to limit him, when he became an actor, to the representation of the parts of old men. We should, on the contrary, have no doubt whatever that the verses we have quoted may be most fitly received in a metaphorical sense, were there not some subsequent lines in the 37th Sonnet which really appear to have a literal meaning; and thus to render the previous *lame* and *lameness* expressive of something more than the general self-abasement which they would otherwise appear to imply. In

the following lines *lame* means something distinct from *poor* and *despised*:—

“For whether beauty, birth, or wealth, or wit,
Or any of these all, or all, or more,
Entitled in thy parts do crowned sit,
I make my love engrafted to this store:
So then I am not *lame*, poor, nor despis’d,
Whilst that this shadow doth such substance give.”

Of one thing, however, we may be quite sure—that, if Shakspeare were lame, his infirmity was not such as to disqualify him for active bodily exertion. The same series of verses that have suggested this belief that he was lame also show that he was a horseman. His entire works exhibit that familiarity with external nature, with rural occupations, with athletic sports, which is incompatible with an inactive boyhood. It is not impossible that some natural defect, or some accidental injury, may have modified the energy of such a child, and have cherished in him that love of books, and traditionary lore, and silent contemplation, without which his intellect could not have been nourished into its wondrous strength. But we cannot imagine William Shakspeare a petted child, chained to home, not breathing the free air upon his native hills, denied the boy’s privilege to explore every nook of his own river. We would imagine him communing from the first with Nature, as Gray has painted him—

“The *dauntless* child
Stretch’d forth his little arms and smil’d.”

The only qualifications necessary for the admission of a boy into the Free Grammar School of Stratford were, that he should be a resident in the town, of seven years of age, and able to read. The Grammar School was essentially connected with the Corporation of Stratford; and it is impossible to imagine that, when the son of John Shakspeare became qualified by age for admission to a school where the best education of the time was given, literally for nothing, his father, in that year, being chief

alderman, should not have sent him to that school. We assume, without any hesitation, that William Shakspeare did receive in every just sense of the word the education of a scholar; and as such education was to be had at his own door, we also assume that he was brought up at the Free Grammar School of his own town. His earlier instruction would therefore be a preparation for this school, and the probability is that such instruction was given him at home.

A question arises, did William Shakspeare receive his elementary instruction in Christianity from the books sanctioned by the Reformed Church? It has been maintained that his father belonged to the Roman Catholic persuasion. This belief rests upon the following foundation:—In the year 1770, Thomas Hart, who then inhabited one of the tenements in Henley Street which had been bequeathed to his family by William Shakspeare's granddaughter, employed a bricklayer to new tile the house; and this bricklayer, by name Mosley, found hidden between the rafters and the tiling a manuscript consisting of six leaves stitched together, which he gave to Mr. Peyton, an Alderman of Stratford, who sent it to Mr. Malone, through the Rev. Mr. Devonport, vicar of Stratford. This paper, which was first published by Malone in 1790, is printed also in Reed's Shakspeare and in Drake's 'Shakspeare and his Times.' It consists of fourteen articles, purporting to be a confession of faith of "John Shakspeare, an unworthy member of the holy Catholic religion." We have no hesitation whatever in believing this document to be altogether a fabrication. Malone, when he first published the paper in his edition of Shakspeare, said—"I have taken some pains to ascertain the authenticity of this manuscript, and, after a very careful inquiry, am perfectly satisfied that it is genuine." In 1796, however, in his work on the Ireland forgeries, he asserts—"I have since obtained documents that clearly prove it could not have been the composition of any one of our poet's family. We not only do not believe that it was "the composition of any one of our poet's family," but we do not believe that it is the work of a Roman

Catholic at all. That John Shakspeare was what we popularly call a Protestant in the year 1568, when his son William was four years old, may be shown by the clearest proofs. He was in that year the chief magistrate of Stratford; he could not have become so without taking the Oath of Supremacy, according to the statute of the 1st of Elizabeth, 1558-9. To refuse this oath was made punishable with forfeiture and imprisonment, with the pains of præmunire and high treason. "The conjecture," says Chalmers (speaking in support of the authenticity of this confession of faith), "that Shakspeare's family were Roman Catholics is strengthened by the fact that his father declined to attend the corporation meetings, and was at last removed from the corporate body." He was removed from the corporate body in 1585, with a distinct statement of the reason for this removal—his non-attendance when summoned to the halls. According to this reasoning of Chalmers, John Shakspeare did not hesitate to take the Oath of Supremacy when he was chief magistrate in 1564, but retired from the corporation in 1585, where he might have remained without offence to his own conscience or to others, being, in the language of that day, a Popish recusant, to be stigmatized as such, persecuted, and subject to the most odious restrictions. If he left or was expelled the corporation for his religious opinions, he would, of course, not attend the service of the church, for which offence he would be liable, in 1585, to a fine of 20*l.* per month; and then, to crown the whole, in this his last confession, spiritual will, and testament, he calls upon all his kinsfolks to assist and succour him after his death "with the holy sacrifice of the mass," with a promise that he "will not be ungrateful unto them for so great a benefit," well knowing that by the Act of 1581 the saying of mass was punishable by a year's imprisonment and a fine of 200 marks, and the hearing of it by a similar imprisonment and a fine of 100 marks. The fabrication appears to us as gross as can well be imagined.

To the grammar-school, then, with some preparation, we hold that William Shakspeare goes. about the year

1571. His father is at this time, as we have said, chief alderman of his town; he is a gentleman, now, of repute and authority; he is Master John Shakspeare; and assuredly the worthy curate of the neighbouring village of Luddington, Thomas Hunt, who was also the school-master, would have received his new scholar with some kindness. As his "shining morning face" first passed out of the main street into that old court through which the upper room of learning was to be reached, a new life would be opening upon him. The humble minister of religion who was his first instructor has left no memorials of his talents or his acquirements; and in a few years another master came after him, Thomas Jenkins, also unknown to fame. All praise and honour be to them; for it is impossible to imagine that the teachers of William Shakspeare were evil instructors—giving the boy husks instead of wholesome aliment. They could not have been harsh and perverse instructors, for such spoil the gentlest natures, and his was always gentle:—"My gentle Shakspeare" is he called by a rough but noble spirit—one in whom was all honesty and genial friendship under a rude exterior. His wondrous abilities could not be spoiled even by ignorant instructors.

There are local associations connected with Stratford which could not be without their influence in the formation of Shakspeare's mind. Within the range of such a boy's curiosity were the fine old historic towns of Warwick and Coventry, the sumptuous palace of Kenilworth, the grand monastic remains of Evesham. His own Avon abounded with spots of singular beauty, quiet hamlets, solitary woods. Nor was Stratford shut out from the general world, as many country towns are. It was a great highway; and dealers with every variety of merchandise resorted to its fairs. The eyes of Shakspeare must always have been open for observation. When he was eleven years old Elizabeth made her celebrated progress to Lord Leicester's castle of Kenilworth; and there he might even have been a witness to some of the "princely pleasures" of masques and mummeries which were the imperfect utterance of the early drama. At

Coventry, too, the ancient mysteries and pageants were still exhibited in the streets, the last sounds of those popular exhibitions which, dramatic in their form, were amongst the most tasteless and revolting appeals to the senses. More than all, the players sometimes even came to Stratford. What they played, and with what degree of excellence, we shall presently have occasion to mention.

A belief has obtained that William Shakspeare's family, about his fourteenth year, became embarrassed in their circumstances, and subsequently fell into great poverty. The question is not uninteresting, looking at the probable influence of such a state of his father's circumstances upon the future destiny of the great poet. A passage in the poet's 'Life' by Rowe has led to the painstaking by which this theory has been sought to be established:—"His father, who was a considerable dealer in wool, had so large a family, ten children in all, that, though he was his eldest son, he could give him no better education than his own employment. He had bred him, it is true, for some time at a free-school, where, it is probable, he acquired what Latin he was master of; but the narrowness of his circumstances, and the want of his assistance at home, forced his father to withdraw him from thence, and unhappily prevented his further proficiency in that language. It is without controversy that in his works we scarce find any traces of anything that looks like an imitation of the ancients." Rowe then goes on to assume that because he did not copy from the ancients he had never read them; he has given us no facts to prove the narrowness of his father's circumstances. Malone however says there is "abundant proof" that when our author was about fourteen years old his father was "by no means in affluent or even easy circumstances." This may be. He supplies however certain extracts from the Corporation and parochial books to show that John Shakspeare was "in distressed circumstances." These are, we think, all capable of another interpretation. But there is one entry which would be decisive if it could be proved to apply to the poet's father. In 1586 a return is made

into the Bailiff's Court, upon an action for debt, upon which distraint was ordered against John Shakspeare; and the return sets forth that he has nothing upon which distress can be levied. This would indeed imply a breaking up of the family, a scattering of all their worldly goods. But Malone, who has taken very laudable pains to show that there was *another* John Shakspeare in Stratford, a shoemaker, who married in 1584, and actually received a *loan out of a charity-fund* about that time, does not suggest the possibility that *this* might be the John Shakspeare who had no goods to be taken in execution. The return in the Bailiff's Court does not designate the debtor by the alderman's received title of *master*, or *magister*. The rise however of our poet's father must have been as rapid as his fall—if he had fallen; for there is a memorandum affixed to the grant of arms in 1596—"he hath lands and tenements, of good wealth and substance, 500*l*." Malone assumes that this is a fiction of the Heralds' Office. Why cannot we, who read the past thus darkly—who even know so little of the present—be content with what is obvious in private or public history?

Inquiries such as these would be worse than useless, unless they had some distinct bearing on the probable career of William Shakspeare. Of the earlier part of that career nothing can, probably, ever be known with certainty. His father added to his independent means, we have no doubt, by combining several occupations in the principal one of looking after a little land; exactly in the way which Harrison has described. Shakspeare's youth was, in all probability, one of very desultory employment, which afforded him leisure to make those extraordinary acquisitions of general knowledge which could scarcely have been made, or rather, the foundations of which could not have been established, during the active life which we believe he led from about his twentieth year. It is in this manner, we are inclined to think, that we must reconcile the contradictory traditions of his early employment. As his father, carrying on various occupations connected with his little property, might, after

the lapse of years, have been a woolman in the imperfect recollection of some, and a butcher in that of others, so his illustrious son, having no very settled employment, may have been either reputed an assistant to his father, a lawyer's clerk, a schoolmaster, or a wild scapegrace, according to the imperfect chroniclers of a country-town, who, after he returned amongst them a rich man, would rejoice in gossiping over the wondrous doings of the boy. It is thus, we believe, that old Aubrey, having been amongst the parish-clerks and barbers of Stratford some fifty years after Shakspeare was dead, tells us, "from Mr. Beeston"—"though, as Ben Jonson says of him, that he had but little Latin and less Greek, he understood Latin pretty well, for he had been *in his younger years* a schoolmaster in the country." His precocious gravity as a schoolmaster must have been as wonderful as his poetical power; for Aubrey also tells us, "this William, being inclined naturally to poetry and acting, came to London, I guess about *eighteen*, and did act exceedingly well. . . . He began *early* to make essays at dramatic poetry, which at that time was very low, and his plays took well." Here, we think, is a statement not very far from the truth, — a statement derived from Aubrey's London information. The stories of the butcher and the schoolmaster were Stratford traditions, perhaps also with some shadow of reality about them.

The earliest connected narrative of Shakspeare's life, that of Rowe, thus briefly continues the history of the boy:—"Upon his leaving school he seems to have given entirely into that way of living which his father proposed to him; and in order to settle in the world after a family manner, he thought fit to marry while he was yet very young. His wife was the daughter of one Hathaway, said to have been a substantial yeoman in the neighbourhood of Stratford." The information which Betterton thus collected as to Shakspeare's early marriage was perfectly accurate. He did marry "the daughter of one Hathaway," and he was no doubt "a substantial yeoman in the neighbourhood of Stratford." At Shottery, a pretty village within a mile of the town, there is yet a

farm-house, now divided into two tenements, where it is affirmed that Hathaway dwelt. By a copy of Court Roll, of the date of 1543, it appears that John Hathaway then held a copyhold estate at Shottery. The identical farm-house or cottage, with its little garden and orchard, remained in the possession of the descendants of the Hathaways till 1838: it was then sold. William Shakspeare was married to Anna Hathaway before the close of the year 1582. He was then eighteen years and a half old. This was indeed an early marriage. His wife was considerably older than himself. Her tombstone states that she died "on the 6th day of August, 1623, being of the age of sixty-seven years." In 1623 Shakspeare would have been fifty-nine years old. The marriage bond and licence were discovered amongst the papers of the Consistorial Court at Worcester, in 1836; and were published, by Mr. Wheler of Stratford, in the 'Gentleman's Magazine.' The bondsmen are, Fulk Sandells, of Stratford, farmer, and John Richardson, of the same place, farmer, and they are held and bound in the sum of 40*l.*, &c. This bond is dated the 28th of November, in the 25th year of Elizabeth—that is, in 1582. The bondsmen subscribe their marks. The licence is affixed to the bond, and the remarkable part of this document is, that they were to be married "with *once* asking of the bans;" they were not to be married "without the consent" of Anne's friends. There is no record where they were married. In 1583 an entry of the baptism of "Susanna, daughter to William Shakspeare" is found in the Stratford register. The entry is the fourth of the month, the word *May* being attached to the first entry of the month. A comparison of the dates of the marriage licence and the baptism of Shakspeare's first child leads to the obvious conclusion that the same fault into which the courtly Raleigh and the high-born Elizabeth Throgmorton had fallen had disturbed the peace of the humble family of the Hathaways, and had no doubt made the mother of the imprudent boy-poet weep bitter tears. But there was instant reparation—a reparation, too, that must have been the voluntary act of him who had committed the

error. The troth-plight had no doubt preceded the legal marriage. There was however no public shame. William Shakspeare was an inhabitant of Stratford, and his wife is denoted as such in the licence;—and there they dwelt when they were married;—and there their children were born;—and there they lived in their later years in opulence;—and there they died. We can see no useful purpose to be served in drawing inferences unfavourable to the general character of Shakspeare's wife from the document which has been discovered, and especially in assuming that domestic unhappiness banished him from Stratford. Early in 1585 twin children were born to him,—and they were baptized on the 2nd of February as “Hamnet and Judeth.”

The cause which *drove* Shakspeare from Stratford is thus stated by Rowe:—“He had, by a misfortune common enough to young fellows, fallen into ill company, and, amongst them, some that made a frequent practice of deer-stealing engaged him more than once in robbing a park that belonged to Sir Thomas Lucy, of Charlecote, near Stratford. For this he was prosecuted by that gentleman, as he thought, somewhat too severely; and in order to revenge that ill usage he made a ballad upon him. And though this, probably the first essay of his poetry, be lost, yet it is said to have been so very bitter, that it redoubled the prosecution against him to that degree that he was obliged to leave his business and family in Warwickshire for some time, and shelter himself in London.” All this, amongst a great deal of falsehood, probably contained some tissue of the truth—such as the truth appeared to the good old folks of Stratford in Betterton's time, who had heard stories from their grandfathers of what a wild young fellow the rich man was who bought the largest house in Stratford. Malone undertakes to get rid of the deer-stealing tradition, by telling us that there was no *park*, properly so called, at Charlecote. It is more material that the statute of the 5th of Elizabeth, which Malone also recites, shows clearly enough that the hunting, killing, or driving out deer from any park was a trespass punished at the

most with three months' imprisonment and treble damages. Sir Thomas Lucy, who was on terms of intimacy with the respectable inhabitants of Stratford, acting as arbitrator in their disputes, was not very likely to have punished the son of an alderman of that town with any extraordinary severity, even if his deer had been taken away. To kill a buck was then an offence not quite so formidable as the shooting of a partridge in our own times. But we may judge of the value of the tradition from some papers, originally the manuscripts of Mr. Fulman, an antiquary of the seventeenth century, which, with additions of his own, were given to Corpus Christi College, Oxford, on the decease of the Rev. Richard Davies, rector of Sandford, Oxfordshire, in 1707. The gossip of Stratford had no doubt travelled to the worthy rector's locality, and rare gossip it is:—"He (Shakspeare) was much given to all unluckiness, in stealing venison *and rabbits*, particularly from Sir Lucy, *who had him oft whipt*, and *sometimes imprisoned*, and at last made him fly his native country, to his great advancement. But his revenge was so great that he is his Justice *Clodpate*; and calls him a great man, and that, in allusion to his name, bore three *lowses* rampant for his arms." Is it necessary to do more than recite such legends to furnish the best answer to them?

Although John Shakspeare, at the time of his son's early marriage, was not, as we think, "in distressed circumstances," his means were not such probably, at any time, as to have allowed him to have borne the charge of his son's family. That William Shakspeare maintained them by some honourable course of industry we cannot doubt. Scrivener or schoolmaster, he was employed. It is on every account to be believed that the altered circumstances in which he had placed himself, in connection with the natural ambition which a young man, a husband and a father, would entertain, led him to London not very long after his marriage. There, it is said, the author of 'Venus and Adonis' obtained a subsistence after the following ingenious fashion:—"Many came on horseback to the play, and when Shakspeare fled to Lon-

don from the terror of a criminal prosecution, his first expedient was to wait at the door of the playhouse, and hold the horses of those who had no servants, that they might be ready again after the performance. In this office he became so conspicuous for his care and readiness, that in a short time every man as he alighted called for Will Shakspeare, and scarcely any other waiter was trusted with a horse while Will Shakspeare could be had." Steevens objects to this surpassing anecdote of the horse-holding, that the practice of *riding* to the playhouse never began, and was never continued, and that Shakspeare could not have held horses at the playhouse-door because people went thither by water. We believe there is a stronger objection still: until *Will Shakspeare* converted the English drama from a rude, tasteless, semi-barbarous entertainment, into a high intellectual feast for men of education and refinement, those who kept horses did not go to the public theatres at all. There were representations in the private houses of the great, which men of some wit and scholarship wrote, with a most tiresome profusion of unmeaning words, pointless incidents, and vague characterization,—and these were called plays; and there were "storial shows" in the public theatres, to which the coarsest melo-drama that is now exhibited at Bartholomew Fair would be as superior as Shakspeare is superior to the highest among his contemporaries. But from 1580 to 1585, when Shakspeare and Shakspeare's boys are described as holding horses at the playhouse-door, it may be affirmed that the English *drama*, such as we now understand by the term, had to be created. We believe that Shakspeare was in the most eminent degree its creator. He had, as we think, written his 'Venus and Adonis,' perhaps in a fragmentary shape, before he left Stratford. It was first printed in 1593, and is dedicated to Lord Southampton. The dedication is one of the few examples of Shakspeare mentioning a word of himself or his works:—"I know not how I shall offend in dedicating my unpolished lines to your lordship, nor how the world will censure me for choosing so strong a prop to support so weak a burden; only if your honour

seem but pleased, I account myself highly praised, and vow to take advantage of all idle hours till I have honoured you with some graver labour. But if the first heir of my invention prove deformed, I shall be sorry it had so noble a godfather, and never after ear so barren a land, for fear it yield me still so bad a harvest. I leave it to your honourable survey, and your honour to your heart's content, which I wish may always answer your own wish and the world's hopeful expectation." The dedication is simple and manly. In 1593 then Shakspeare had an employment—a recognised one—for he speaks of "idle hours" to be devoted to poetry. He calls this poem too "the first heir of my invention." If it "prove deformed," he will never after ear (plough) so barren a land." Will he give up writing for the stage then? It is a remarkable proof of the low reputation of the drama that even the dramatic works which Shakspeare had unquestionably produced in 1593 were not here alluded to. The drama scarcely then aspired to the character of poetry. The "some graver labour" which he contemplated was another *poem*; and he did produce another the next year, which he also dedicated to the same friend. This was the 'Rape of Lucrece.' Perhaps these poems were published to vindicate his reputation as a writer against the jealousies of some of the contemporary dramatists. But we still think that he used the term "first heir of my invention" in its literal sense; and that 'Venus and Adonis'—or at least a sketch of it—was the first production of **his** imagination, his invention. It bears every mark of a youthful composition; it would have been more easily produced by the Shakspeare of eighteen or twenty than any of his earliest dramas. He had models of such writing as the 'Venus and Adonis' before him. Chaucer he must have diligently studied; Spenser had published his 'Shepherd's Calendar,' his Hymns to Love and Beauty, and other poems, when Shakspeare's genius was budding amidst his native fields. But when he wrote 'Henry VI.' or the first 'Hamlet,' where could he seek for models of dramatic blank verse, of natural dialogue, of strong and consistent

character? He had to work without models; and this was the real "graver labour" of his early manhood. It has been discovered by Mr. Collier that in 1589, when Shakspeare was only twenty-five, he was a joint proprietor in the Blackfriars theatre, with a fourth of the other proprietors below him in the list. He had, at twenty-five, a standing in society; he had the means, without doubt, of maintaining his family; as he advanced in the proprietorship of the same theatre, he realized a fortune. How had he been principally occupied from the time he left Stratford, to have become somewhat rapidly a person of importance amongst his "friends and fellows?" We think, by making himself useful to them, beyond all comparison with others, by his writings. It appears to us not improbable that even before Shakspeare left Stratford, he had attempted some play or plays which had become known to the London players. Thomas Greene, who in 1586 was the fourth on the list of the Blackfriars shareholders, was said to be Shakspeare's fellow townsman. But the young poet might have found another and more important friend in the Blackfriars company:—Richard Burbage, the great actor, who in his own day was called "the English Roscius," was also of Shakspeare's county. In a letter of Lord Southampton to the Lord Chancellor Ellesmere (written about 1608), introducing Burbage and Shakspeare to the chancellor, it is said:—"They are both of one county, and indeed almost of one town." It is perfectly clear therefore that Shakspeare, from the easy access that he might have procured to these men, would have received inviting offers to join them in London, provided he had manifested any ability which would be useful to them. That ability, we have no doubt, was manifested by the production of original plays (as well as by acting) some time before he had attained the rank and profit of a shareholder in the Blackfriars company.

The theory that Shakspeare had not produced any of his dramas till several years after he was a shareholder in the Blackfriars theatre, is generally upheld by the assertion that he is not noticed by any contemporary

writer till after the period usually assigned to the commencement of his career as a dramatic author; that is, about 1592. There is an allusion to 'Hamlet' by Nashe, in 1589, and the most reasonable belief is, that this was Shakspeare's Hamlet—an earlier sketch than the early one which exists. We believe, with Dryden and Rowe, that a remarkable passage in Spenser's 'Thalia' applies to Shakspeare, and that poem was published in 1591. The application of these passages to Shakspeare is strongly disputed by those who assign the first of his plays to 1593. In an age when there were no newspapers and no reviews, it must be extremely difficult to trace the course of any man, however eminent, by the notices of the writers of his times. An author's fame then was not borne through every quarter of the land in the very hour in which it was won. More than all, the reputation of a dramatic writer could scarcely be known, except to a resident in London, until his works were committed to the press. The first play of Shakspeare's which was printed was 'The First Part of the Contention' ('Henry VI.,' Part II.), and that did not appear till 1594. Now Malone says, "In Webbe's 'Discourse of English Poetry,' published in 1586, we meet with the name of most of the celebrated poets of that time; particularly those of George Whetstone and Anthony Munday, who were dramatic writers; but we find no trace of our author, or any of his works." But Malone does not tell us that in Webbe's 'Discourse of Poetry' we meet with the following passage:—"I am humbly to desire pardon of the learned company of gentlemen, scholars, and students of the universities and inns of court, if I omit their several commendations in this place, which I know a great number of them have worthily deserved, in many rare devices and singular inventions of poetry; for neither hath it been my good hap to have seen all which I have heard of, neither is my abiding in such place where I can with facility get knowledge of their works." "Three years afterwards," continues Malone, "Puttenham printed his 'Art of English Poesy;' and in that work also we look in vain for the name of Shakspeare." The

book speaks of the one-and-thirty years' space of Elizabeth's reign; and thus puts the date of the writing a year earlier than the printing. But we here look in vain for some other illustrious names besides those of Shakspeare. Malone has not told us that not one of Shakspeare's early dramatic contemporaries is mentioned—neither Marlowe, nor Greene, nor Peele, nor Kyd, nor Lyly. The author evidently derives his knowledge of "poets and poesy" from a much earlier period than that in which he publishes. He does not mention Spenser by *name*, but he does "that other gentleman who wrote the late 'Shepherd's Calender.'" The 'Shepherd's Calendar' of Spenser was published in the year 1579. Malone goes on to argue that the omission of Shakspeare's name, or any other notice of his works, in Sir John Harrington's 'Apology of Poetry,' printed in 1591, in which he takes occasion to speak of the theatre, and mentions some of the celebrated dramas of that time, is a proof that none of Shakspeare's dramatic compositions had then appeared. Does he mention 'Tamburlaine,' or 'Faus-tus,' or 'The Massacre of Paris,' or 'The Jew of Malta'? As he does not, it may be assumed with equal justice that none of Marlowe's compositions had appeared in 1591; and yet we know that he died in 1593. So of Lyly's 'Galathea,' 'Alexander and Campaspe,' 'Endymion,' &c. So of Greene's 'Orlando Furioso,' 'Friar Bacon,' 'James IV.' So of the 'Spanish Tragedy' of Kyd. The truth is, that Harrington, in his notice of celebrated dramas, was even more antiquated than Puttenham; and his evidence therefore in this matter is utterly worthless. But Malone has given his crowning proof that Shakspeare had not written before 1591, in the following words:—"Sir Philip Sidney, in his 'Defence of Poesie,' speaks at some length of the low state of dramatic literature at the time he composed his treatise, but has not the slightest allusion to Shakspeare, whose plays, had they then appeared, would doubtless have rescued the English stage from the contempt which is thrown upon it by the accomplished writer: and to which it was justly exposed by the wretched compositions of those who preceded

our poet. 'The Defence of Poesie' was not published till 1595, but must have been written some years before." There is one slight objection to this argument: Sir Philip Sidney was killed at the battle of Zutphen, in the year 1586; and it would really have been somewhat surprising if the illustrious author of the 'Defence of Poesy' could have included Shakspeare in his account "of the low state of dramatic literature at the time he composed this treatise."

If the instances of the mention of Shakspeare by his contemporaries during his lifetime be not numerous, we are compensated by the fulness and explicitness of one notice—that of Francis Meres, in 1598. Short as his notice is, it is by far the most valuable contribution which we possess towards the 'Life' of Shakspeare. Meres was a master of arts of Cambridge, and subsequently entered the church. In 1558 he published a book called '*Palladis Tamia*, Wit's Treasury.' It is a collection of moral sentences from ancient writers, and it is described by Anthony Wood as "a noted school-book." Prefixed to it is 'A Comparative Discourse of our English Poets.' Nothing can be more decisive than this 'Comparative Discourse' as to the rank which, in 1598, Shakspeare had taken amongst the most eminent of his contemporaries.

"As the Greek tongue is made famous and eloquent by Homer, Hesiod, Euripides, Æschylus, Sophocles, Pindarus, Phocylides, and Aristophanes; and the Latin tongue by Virgil, Ovid, Horace, Silius Italicus, Lucanus, Lucretius, Ausonius, and Claudianus; so the English tongue is mightily enriched, and gorgeously invested in rare ornaments and resplendent habiliments, by Sir Philip Sidney, Spenser, Daniel, Drayton, Warner, Shakspeare, Marlow, and Chapman.

"As the soul of Euphorbus was thought to live in Pythagoras, so the sweet witty soul of Ovid lives in mellifluous and honey-tongued Shakspeare; witness his 'Venus and Adonis,' his 'Lucrece,' his sugared sonnets among his private friends, &c.

"As Plautus and Seneca are accounted the best for

comedy and tragedy among the Latins, so Shakspeare, among the English, is the most excellent in both kind for the stage; for comedy, witness his 'Gentlemen of Verona,' his 'Errors,' his 'Love Labours Lost,' his 'Love Labours Won,' his 'Midsummer Night's Dream,' and his 'Merchant of Venice;' for tragedy, his 'Richard II.,' 'Richard III.,' 'Henry IV.,' 'King John,' 'Titus Andronicus,' and his 'Romeo and Juliet.'

"As Epilus Stolo said that the Muses would speak with Plautus's tongue, if they would speak Latin; so I say that the Muses would speak with Shakspeare's fine filed phrase if they would speak English."

The list of Shakspeare's plays which Meres gives in 1598 can scarcely be supposed to be a complete one. Previous to 1598 there had been only *printed* the two Parts of the 'Contention' (now know as the 'Second and Third Parts of Henry VI.),' 'Richard III.,' 'Richard II.,' and 'Romeo and Juliet.' Of the six comedies mentioned by Meres, not one had been published; neither had 'Henry IV.,' 'King John,' nor 'Titus Andronicus;' but in 1597 'Love's Labour's Lost,' and the 'First Part of Henry IV.,' had been entered in Stationers Hall. Without the list of Meres therefore we could not have absolutely shown that the 'Two Gentlemen of Verona,' the 'Comedy of Errors,' the 'All's Well that Ends Well' (which we have every reason to think was designated as 'Love Labours Won'), the 'Midsummer Night's Dream,' the 'Merchant of Venice,' the 'King John,' and the 'Titus Andronicus,' were written and produced before 1598. The list of Meres omits the original 'Hamlet,' and the 'Taming of the Shrew,' which we may believe were produced before 1598; but, looking at Meres' list alone, how gloriously had Shakspeare earned that reputation which he had thus acquired in 1598! He was then thirty-four years of age, but he had produced all his great historical plays, with the exception of 'Henry V.' and 'Henry VIII.' He had given us 'Romeo and Juliet,' and had even "corrected and augmented" it; the stage was in possession, and the fame acknowledged, of six of his most delicious comedies. Before the close of

that century we have little doubt that he had also produced 'Henry V.,' the 'Merry Wives of Windsor,' and 'Much Ado about Nothing.'

Of the plays thus produced before the close of the sixteenth century, we would assign several (not fewer than nine, including the doubtful plays) to the period from Shakspeare's early manhood to 1591. Some of those dramas may possibly then have been created in an imperfect state, very different from that in which we have received them. If the 'Titus Andronicus' and 'Pericles' are Shakspeare's, they belong to his epoch in their first state, whatever it might have been. We have no doubt that the three plays, in their original form, which we now call the three Parts of 'Henry VI.,' were his; and they also belong to this epoch. That 'Hamlet' in a very imperfect state, probably more imperfect even than the sketch in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, is the play alluded to by Nashe in 1589, we have little doubt. In the Duke of Devonshire's copy, dated 1602, there are passages, afterwards omitted, which decidedly refer to an early state of the stage. Amongst the comedies, 'The Two Gentlemen of Verona,' 'Love's Labour's Lost,' 'The Comedy of Errors,' and 'The Taming of the Shrew,' contain very strong external evidence, especially in the structure of their versification, that they belong to the poet's earliest period. When the time arrived that he had fully dedicated himself to the great work of his life, he had rarely ventured upon cultivating the offshoots of his early versification. The doggerel was entirely rejected—the alternate rhymes no longer tempted him by their music to introduce a measure which is scarcely akin with the dramatic spirit—the couplet was adopted more and more sparingly—and he finally adheres to the blank verse which he may almost be said to have created—in his hands certainly the grandest as well as the sweetest form in which the highest thoughts were ever untolded to listening humanity. We have only one drama to add to this cycle, and that we believe, was 'Romeo and Juliet' in its original form.

The 'Midsummer Night's Dream' may be taken, we

apprehend, as a connecting link between the dramas which belong to the first cycle and those which may be assigned to the remaining years of the sixteenth century.

We have little difficulty in determining the plays which belong to Shakspeare's *middle* period. The list of Meres, and the dates of the original editions of those plays, are our best guides. The exact years in which they first appeared can only be determined in one or two cases; and it is of little consequence if they could be determined. The earliest of the historical plays of this cycle were those which completed the great story of the wars of the Roses. 'Richard III.' naturally terminated the eventful history of the House of York; 'Richard II.' commenced the more magnificent exhibition of the fortunes of the House of Lancaster. Both these plays were printed in 1597. The two great historical plays of 'Henry IV.' which succeeded them were, no doubt, produced before 1596. 'Henry V.' undoubtedly belongs to that year; and this great song of national triumph grew out of the earlier history of the "mad-cap Prince of Wales." The three latter histories are most remarkable for the exhibition of the greatest comic power that the world has ever seen. When the genius of Shakspeare produced Falstaff, its most distinguishing characteristics, his wit and humour, had attained their extremest perfection. There is much of the same high comedy in 'King John.' This was the period which also produced those comic dramas which are most distinguished for their brilliancy of dialogue—the "fine filed phrase" which Meres describes—'The Merry Wives of Windsor,' 'Much Ado about Nothing,' and 'Twelfth Night,' 'The Merchant of Venice,' and 'All's Well that Ends Well,' belong to the more romantic class. The 'Twelfth Night' was originally thought to have been one of Shakspeare's latest plays; but it is now proved beyond a doubt that it was acted in the Middle Temple Hall in the Christmas of 1601.

The close of the sixteenth century brings us to Shakspeare's thirty-fifth year. He had then been about fifteen years in London. We are not willing to believe that

his whole time was passed in the capital. It is not necessary to believe it; for the evidence, such as it is, partly gossip and partly documentary, makes for the contrary opinion. Aubrey tells us "the humour of the constable in 'A Midsummer Night's Dream' he happened to take at Grendon in Bucks, which is the road from London to Stratford, and there was living that constable about 1642, when I first came to Oxon." The honest antiquary makes a slight mistake here. There is no constable in 'A Midsummer Night's Dream;' but he probably refers to the ever-famous Dogberry or Verges. In the same paper Aubrey says, "he was wont to go to his native country once a-year."

But we have more trustworthy evidence than that of John Aubrey for believing that Shakspeare, however indispensable a protracted residence in London might be to his interests and those of his family, never cast aside the link which bound him to his native town. In 1596 his only son died, and in Stratford he was buried. The parochial register gives us the melancholy record of this loss. This event, afflicting as it must have been, did not render the great poet's native town less dear to him. There his father and mother, there his wife and daughters, there his sister still lived. In 1597 he purchased the principal house in Stratford. It was built by Sir Hugh Clopton, in the reign of Henry VII., and was devised by him under the name of *the great house*. Dugdale describes it as "a fair house built of brick and timber." It appears to have been sold out of the Clopton family before it was purchased by Shakspeare. In the poet's will it is described as "all that capital messuage or tenement, with the appurtenances, in Stratford aforesaid, called the New Place." It is now incontestably proved that in the year previous to 1596 Shakspeare held a much more important rank as a sharer in the Blackfriars Theatre than in 1589; and that the Globe Theatre also belonged to the body of proprietors of which he was one. A petition to the privy council, presented in 1596, was found in the State Paper Office a few years ago, in which the names of the Petitioners stand as follows:—

“The humble petition of Thomas Pope, Richard Burbage, John Hemmings, Augustine Phillips, William Shakspeare, William Kempe, William Sly, Nicholas Tooley, and others, servants to the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlain to her Majesty.”

There is a tradition that the valuable estate of New Place was purchased by Shakspeare through the munificent assistance of Lord Southampton. It is pleasant to believe such a tradition; but it is not necessary to account for Shakspeare's property in the theatres, or even for his purchase of New Place at Stratford, that we should imagine that some extraordinary prodigality of bounty had been lavished on him. He obtained his property in the theatre by his honest labours, steadily exerted, though with unequalled facility, from his earliest manhood. The profits which he received not only enabled him to maintain his family, but to create an estate; and his was not a solitary case. Edward Alleyn, who was a contemporary of Shakspeare, a player and a theatrical proprietor, realized a fortune; and he founded Dulwich College.

It has been held, especially by the German critics, that the Sonnets of Shakspeare have not been sufficiently regarded as a store of materials for his biography; and it has been very ingeniously attempted by a recent writer, Mr. Brown, to show that the whole of these, with a few slight exceptions, are to be taken as a continuous poem or poems. He calls them Shakspeare's ‘Autobiographical Poems.’ But we would ask, can these one hundred and fifty-four Sonnets be received as a continuous poem upon any other principle than that the author had written them continuously? If there are some parts which are acknowledged interpolations, may there not be other parts that are open to the same belief? If there are parts entirely different in their tone from the bulk of these Sonnets, may we not consider that one portion was meant to be artificial and another real,—that the poet sometimes spoke in an assumed character, sometimes in a natural one? This theory we know could not hold if the poet had himself arranged the sequence of these verses; but

as it is manifest that two stanzas have been introduced from a poem printed ten years earlier—that others are acknowledged to be out of order—and others positively dragged in without the slightest connexion—may we not carry the separation still further, and believing that the “begetter” (by which name some W. H. is honoured by the bookseller in a dedication)—“*the getter up*—of these Sonnets had levied contributions upon all Shakspeare’s private friends,”—assume that he was indifferent to any arrangement which might make each portion of the poem tell its own history? We do not therefore take up these poems to “seize a clue which innumerable passages give us, and suppose that they allude to a youth of high rank as well as personal beauty and accomplishment, in whose favour and intimacy, according to the base prejudices of the world, a player and a poet, though he were the author of ‘Macbeth,’ might be thought honoured;” and we do not feel “the strangeness of Shakspeare’s humiliation in addressing him as a being before whose feet he crouched—whose frown he feared—whose injuries, and those of the most insulting kind, he felt and bewailed without resenting.” (Hallam’s *Literature of Europe*.)

The view which we take of the probable admixture of the artificial and the real in the Sonnets, arising from their supposed original fragmentary state, necessarily leads to the belief that some are accurate illustrations of the poet’s situation and feelings. It is collected from these Sonnets, for example, that his profession as a player was disagreeable him; and this complaint, be it observed, might be addressed to any one of his family, or some honoured friend, such as Lord Southampton, as well as to the principal object of so many of those lyrics which contain a “leading idea, with variations:”—

“O, for my sake do you with Fortune chide,
The guilty goddess of my harmful deeds,
That did not better for my life provide
Than public means, which public manners breeds.
Thence comes it that my name receives a brand,

And almost thence my nature is subdued
To what it works in, like the dyer's hand."

But if from his professional occupation his nature was felt by him to be subdued to what it worked it,—if, thence his name received a brand,—if vulgar scandal sometimes assailed him,—he had high thoughts to console him, such as were never before imparted to mortal. This was probably written in some period of dejection, when his heart was ill at ease, and he looked upon the world with a slight tinge of indifference, if not of dislike. Every man of high genius has felt something of this. It was reserved for the highest to throw it off, "like dew-drops from the lion's mane." After a very full consideration of Shakspeare's *dramatic* works, we are come to the conclusion that he possessed, above all other men, so complete a mastery over the tendency to colour general representations of life and character with personal views and circumstances, that he invariably went out of himself,—that he saw nothing through his own individual feelings,—and that thus none of his portraits are alike, because none are personifications of his own nature—his own life—his own self-consciousness. If there are some portions of his Sonnets which are conceived in an entirely different spirit, we think they are not very numerous, and must be received as evidences of personal character, habits, and feelings with great scrupulousness.

Shakspeare during the last year or two of the sixteenth century, and the opening years of the seventeenth, was for the most part in London. In 1598 we find his townsman, Richard Quiney, writing him a letter, requesting the loan of thirty pounds. Mr. Alderman Sturley, with reference to some public business of that period, not only says in a letter that "our countryman, Mr. William Shakspeare, would procure us money," but speaks "of the friends *he* can make." Such notices are decisive as to the position Shakspeare then held in the estimation of the world. In 1601 his father died; and his burial is registered at Stratford. He appears then to have had three brothers living,—Gilbert, Richard, and Edmund.

In 1603 James I. ascended the throne of England.

Lord Southampton, who had so imprudently participated in the conspiracy of Essex, was a favourite of the new king; and one almost of the first acts of the reign was a grant of a patent to the proprietors of the Blackfriars and Globe Theatres. In this patent the name of Shakspeare stands the second: the names mentioned being "Lawrence Fletcher, William Shakspeare, Richard Burbage, Augustine Phillips, John Hemmings, Henry Condell, William Sly, Robert Armin, Richard Cowley."

It would appear that at this period Shakspeare was desirous of retiring from the more laborious duties of his profession as an actor. He desired to be appointed, there is little doubt, to the office of Master of the Queen's Revels. Daniel, a brother poet, was appointed; and in a letter to the Lord Keeper, Sir Thomas Egerton, he thus speaks of one of the competitors for the office:—"It seemeth to my humble judgment that one who is the author of plays now daily presented on the public stages of London, and the possessor of no small gains, and moreover himself an actor in the King's company of comedians, could not with reason pretend to be master of the Queen's Majesty's revels, forasmuch as he would sometimes be asked to approve and allow of his own writings."

But Shakspeare continued to hold his property in the theatre. In 1608 the Corporation of London again attempted to interfere with the actors of the Blackfriars; and there being little chance of ejecting them despotically, a negotiation was set on foot for the purchase of their property. A document found by Mr. Collier amongst the Egerton papers at once determines Shakspeare's position in regard to his theatrical proprietorship. It is a valuation, containing the following item:—

"Item. W. Shakespeare asketh for the wardrobe and properties of the same playhouse 500*l.*, and for his four shares, the same as his fellows Burbidge and Fletcher, viz.
933*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* 1433 6 8"

With this document was found another—unquestionably the most interesting paper ever published relating

to Shakspeare: it is a letter from Lord Southampton to Lord Ellesmere, the lord chancellor; and it contains the following passage :*—

“ These bearers are two of the chief of the company ; one of them by name Richard Burbidge, who humbly sueth for your Lordship’s kind help, for that he is a man famous as our English Roscius, one who fitteth the action to the word and the word to the action most admirably. By the exercise of his quality, industry, and good behaviour, he hath become possessed of the Black Friars playhouse, which hath been employed for plays since it was built by his father, now near fifty years ago. The other is a man no whit less deserving favour, and my especial friend, till of late an actor of good account in the company, now a sharer in the same, and writer of some of our best English plays, which, as your Lordship knoweth, were most singularly liked of Queen Elizabeth, when the company was called upon to perform before her Majesty at court, at Christmas and Shrovetide. His most gracious Majesty King James also, since his coming to the crown, hath extended his royal favour to the company in divers ways and at sundry times. This other hath to name William Shakespeare, and they are both of one county, and indeed almost of one town : both are right famous in their qualities, though it longeth not to your Lordship’s gravity and wisdom to resort unto the places where they are wont to delight the public ear. Their trust and suit now is, not to be molested in their way of life whereby they maintain themselves and their wives and families (being both married and of good reputation), as well as the widows and orphans of some of their dead fellows.”

We may now suppose that the great poet, thus honoured and esteemed, had retired to Stratford, retaining a property in the theatre—regularly writing for it. There is an opinion that he ceased to act after 1603. In that year

* Some doubts have been cast upon the authenticity of this paper ; and it would be well if the Shakspeare Society would endeavour to clear them up.

his name is found amongst the performers of one of Ben Jonson's plays. But the years from 1605 to his death, in the April of 1616, were not idly spent. He was a practical farmer, we have little doubt. In 1604 he bought a moiety of the tithes of Stratford, which he would then probably collect in kind. He occupied the best house of the place; he had there his "curious knotted garden" to amuse him; and his orchard had many a pippin of his "own grafting." James I. recommended the cultivation of mulberry-trees in England; and who has not heard of Shakspeare's mulberry-tree? Vulgar tradition at this time represents him as writing a bitter epitaph upon his friend and neighbour John Combe, as he had satirized Sir Thomas Lucy. He was doing, we think, something better. To the first half of the period between 1604 and his death may be assigned—'Macbeth,' 'Cymbeline,' 'The Winter's Tale,' and 'The Tempest.' The very recital of the names of these glorious works, associated as they are with that quiet country-town, its beautiful Avon, its meadows, and its woodlands, is enough to make Stratford a name dear and venerable in every age.

The register of marriages at Stratford-upon-Avon for the year 1607 contains the entry of the marriage of John Hall, gentleman, and Susanna Shakspeare, on the 5th June. Susanna, the eldest daughter of William Shakspeare, was now twenty-four years of age. John Hall, gentleman, a physician settled at Stratford, was in his thirty-second year. This appears in every respect to have been a propitious alliance. Shakspeare received into his family a man of learning and talent.

The season at which the marriage of Shakspeare's elder daughter took place would appear to give some corroboration to the belief that, at this period, he had wholly ceased to be an actor. It is not likely that an event to him so deeply interesting would have taken place during his absence from Stratford. It was the season of performances at the Globe. It is at this period that we can fix the date of 'Lear.' That wonderful tragedy was first published in 1608; and the title-page recites that "It was plaid before the King's Majesty at White-Hall,

upon S. Stephen's Night; in Christmas Hollidaies." This most extraordinary production might well have been the first fruits of a period of comparative leisure; when the creative faculty was wholly untrammelled by petty cares, and the judgment might be employed in working again and again upon the first conceptions, so as to produce such a masterpiece of consummate art without after-labour. The next season of repose gave birth to an effort of genius wholly different in character; but almost as wonderful in its profound sagacity and knowledge of the world as 'Lear' is unequalled for its depth of individual passion. 'Troilus and Cressida' was published in 1600.

The year 1608 brought its domestic joys and calamities to Shakspeare. In the same font where he had been baptized, forty-three years before, was baptized, on the 21st of February, his grand-daughter, "Elizabeth, daughter of John Hall." In the same grave where his father was laid in 1601, was buried his mother, "Mary Shakspeare, widow," on the 9th of September, 1608. She was the youngest daughter of Robert Arden, who died in 1556. She was probably, therefore, about seventy years of age when her sons followed her to the "house of all living."

There is a memorandum existing, by Thomas Greene, a contemporary of Shakspeare, residing at Stratford, which, under the date of November 17th, 1614, has this record:—"My cousin Shakspeare coming yesterday to town, I went to see him how he did." We cite this memorandum here, as an indication of Shakspeare's habit of occasionally visiting London; for Thomas Greene was then in the capital, with the intent of opposing the project of an inclosure at Stratford. The frequency of Shakspeare's visits to London would essentially depend upon the nature of his connexion with the theatres. He was a permanent shareholder, as we have seen, at the Blackfriars; and no doubt at the Globe also. His interests as a sharer might be diligently watched over by his fellows; and he might only have visited London when he had a new play to bring forward, the fruit of his leisure in the country. But until he disposed of his wardrobe and other pro-

perties, more frequent demands might be made upon his personal attendance than if he were totally free from the responsibilities belonging to the charge of such an embarrassing stock in trade.

There is distinct evidence that Shakspeare was not a resident in London in 1613; for in an indenture executed by him on the 10th of March, in that year, for the purchase of a dwelling-house in the precinct of the Blackfriars, he is described as "William Shakespeare of Stratforde Upon Avon in the countie of Warwick gentleman;" whilst his fellow John Hemyng, who is a party to the same deed, is described as "of London, gentleman." From the situation of the property it would appear to have been bought either as an appurtenance to the theatre, or for some protection of the interests of the sharers. In the deed of 1602 Shakspeare is also described as of Stratford-upon-Avon. It is natural that he should be so described, in a deed for the purchase of land at Stratford; but upon the same principle, had he been a resident in London in 1613, he would have been described as of London in a deed for the purchase of property in London. Yet we also look upon this conveyance as evidence that Shakspeare had in March, 1613, not wholly severed himself from his interest in the theatre.

Every one agrees that during the last three or four years of his life Shakspeare ceased to write. Yet we venture to think that every one is in error. The opinion is founded upon a belief that he only finally left London towards the close of 1613. It is evident, from his purchase of a large house at Stratford, his constant acquisition of landed property there, his active engagements in the business of agriculture, the interest which he took in matters connected with his property in which his neighbours had a common interest, that he must have partially left London before this period. But his biographers, having fixed a period for the termination of his connexion with the active business of the theatre, assume that he became wholly unemployed; that he gave himself up, as Rowe has described, to "ease, retirement, and the conversation of his friends." His income was enough,

they say, to dispense with labour; and therefore he did not labour. But when the days of leisure arrived, is it reasonable to believe that the mere habit of his life would not assert its ordinary control; that the greatest of intellects would suddenly sink to the condition of an everyday man—cherishing no high plans for the future, looking back with no desire to equal and excel the work of the past? At the period of life when Chaucer began to write the ‘*Canterbury Tales*,’ Shakspeare, according to his biographers, was suddenly and utterly to cease to write. We cannot believe it. Is there a parallel case in the career of any great artist who had won for himself competence and fame? Is the mere applause of the world, and a sufficiency of the goods of life, “the end-all and the be-all” of the labours of a mighty mind? These attained, is the voice of his spiritual being to be heard no more? If those who reason thus could present a satisfactory record of the dates of all Shakspeare’s works, and especially of his later works, we should still cling to the belief that some fruits of the last years of his literary industry had wholly perished. It is unnecessary, as it appears to us, to adopt any such theory. Without the means of fixing the precise date of many particular dramas, we have indisputable traces, up to this period, of the appearance of at least five-sixths of all Shakspeare’s undoubted works. Are there any dramas whose individual appearance is not accounted for by those who have attempted to fix the exact chronology of other plays? There are such dramas, and they form a class. They are the three great Roman plays of ‘*Coriolanus*,’ ‘*Julius Cæsar*,’ and ‘*Antony and Cleopatra*.’

The happy quiet of Shakspeare’s retreat was not wholly undisturbed by calamity, domestic and public. His brother Richard, who was ten years his junior, was buried at Stratford on the 4th of February, 1613. Of his father’s family his sister Joan, who had married Mr. William Hart of Stratford, was probably the only other left. There is no record of the death of his brother Gilbert; but as he is not mentioned in the will of William, in all likelihood he died before him. Oldys, in

his manuscript notes upon Langbaine, has a story of "One of Shakspeare's younger brothers, who lived to a good old age, even some years, as I compute, after the restoration of King Charles II." Gilbert was born in 1566; so that if he had lived some years after the restoration of Charles II. it is not surprising that "his memory was weakened," as Oldys reports, and that he could give "the most noted actors" but "little satisfaction in their endeavours to learn something from him of his brother." The story of Oldys is clearly apocryphal, as far as regards any brother of Shakspeare's. They were a short-lived race. His sister, indeed, survived him thirty years. The family at New Place, at this period, would be composed therefore of his wife only, and his unmarried daughter Judith; unless his elder daughter and his son-in-law formed a part of the same household, with their only child Elizabeth, who was born in 1608. The public calamity to which we have alluded was a great fire, which broke out at Stratford on the 9th of July, 1614. That Shakspeare assisted with all the energy of his character in alleviating the miseries of this calamity, and in the restoration of his town, we cannot doubt. In the same year we find him taking some interest in the project of an inclosure of the common-fields of Stratford. The inclosure would probably have improved his property, and especially have increased the value of the tithes, of the moiety of which he held a lease. The Corporation of Stratford were opposed to the inclosure. They held that it would be injurious to the poorer inhabitants, who were then deeply suffering from the desolation of the fire; and they appear to have been solicitous that Shakspeare should take the same view of the matter as themselves. His friend William Combe, then high sheriff of the county, was a principal person engaged in forwarding the inclosure. The Corporation sent their common clerk, Thomas Greene, to London, to oppose the project; and a memorandum in his hand-writing, which still remains, exhibits the business-like manner in which Shakspeare informed himself of the details of the plan. The first memorandum is dated the 17th of November, 1614, and

is as follows :—“ My Cosen Shakspeare comyng yesterday to town, I went to see how he did. He told me that they assured him they meant to inclose no further than to Gospel Bush, and so upp straight (leaving out pt. of the Dyngles to the field) to the gate in Clopton hedg, and take in Salisbury’s peece; and that they mean in Aprill to svey. the land and then to gyve satisfaccion, and not before: and he and Mr. Hall say they think yr. will be nothyng done at all.” Mr. Greene appears to have returned to Stratford in about a fortnight after the date of this memorandum, and Shakspeare seems to have remained in London; for according to a second memorandum, which is damaged and partly illegible, an official letter was written to Shakspeare by the Corporation, accompanied by a private letter from Mr. Greene, moving him to exert his influence against this plan of the inclosure :—“ 23 Dec. A. Hall, Lres. wrytten, one to Mr. Manyring—another to Mr. Shakspeare, with almost all the company’s hands to cyther. I also wrytte myself to my Csn. Shakspear, the coppyes of all our . . . then also a note of the inconvenyances wold . . . by the enclosure.” Arthur Mannering, to whom one of these letters was written by the Corporation, was officially connected with the Lord Chancellor, and then residing at his house; and from the letter to him, which has been preserved, “it appears that he was apprised of the injury to be expected from the intended inclosure; reminded of the damage that Stratford, then ‘lying in the ashes of desolation,’ had sustained from recent fires; and entreated to forbear the inclosure.” The letter to Shakspeare has not been discovered. The fact of its having been written leaves no doubt of the importance which was attached to his opinion by his neighbours. Truly in his later years he had

“ Honour, love, obedience, troops of friends.”

The younger daughter of Shakspeare was married on the 10th of February, 1616, to Thomas Quiney, as the register of Stratford shows. Thomas Quiney was the son of Richard Quiney of Stratford, whom we have seen

in 1598 soliciting the kind offices of his loving countryman Shakspeare. Thomas, who was born in 1588, was probably a well-educated man. The last will of Shakspeare would appear to have been prepared in some degree with reference to this marriage. It is dated the 25th of March, 1616; but the word "Januarii" seems to have been first written and afterwards struck out, "Martii" having been written above it. It is not unlikely, and indeed it appears most probable, that the document was prepared before the marriage of Judith; for the elder daughter is mentioned as Susanna Hall,—the younger simply as Judith. To her, one hundred pounds is bequeathed, and fifty pounds conditionally. The life-interest of a further sum of one hundred and fifty pounds is also bequeathed to her, with remainder to her children; but if she died without issue within three years after the date of the will, the hundred and fifty pounds was to be otherwise appropriated. We pass over the various legacies to relations and friends to come to the bequest of the great bulk of the property. All the real estate is devised to his daughter Susanna Hall, for and during the term of her natural life. It is then entailed upon her first son and his heirs male; and in default of such issue, to her second son and his heirs male; and so on: in default of such issue, to his granddaughter Elizabeth Hall (called in the language of the time his "niece"): and in default of such issue, to his daughter Judith and her heirs male. By this strict entailment it was manifestly the object of Shakspeare to found a family. Like many other such purposes of short-sighted humanity, the object was not accomplished. His elder daughter had no issue but Elizabeth, and she died childless. The heirs male of Judith died before her. The estates were scattered after the second generation; and the descendants of his sister were the only transmitters to posterity of his blood and lineage.

"Item, I give unto my wife my second-best bed, with the furniture." This is the clause of the will upon which, for half a century, all men believed that Shakspeare recol-

lected his wife only to mark how little he esteemed her, —to “cut her off, not indeed with a shilling, but an old bed.”* We had the satisfaction of first showing the utter groundlessness of this opinion; and we here briefly repeat the statement which we made in our Postscript to ‘Twelfth Night,’ that the wife of Shakspeare was unquestionably provided for by the natural operation of the law of England. His estates, with the exception of a copyhold tenement, expressly mentioned in his will, were *freehold*. *His wife was entitled to dower*. She was provided for amply, *by the clear and undeniable operation of the English law*. Of the houses and gardens which Shakspeare inherited from his father, she was assured of the life-interest of a third, should she survive her husband, the instant that old John Shakspeare died. Of the capital messuage called New Place, the best house in Stratford, which Shakspeare purchased in 1597, she was assured of the same life-interest, from the moment of the conveyance, provided it was a direct conveyance to her husband. That it was so conveyed we may infer from the terms of the conveyance of the lands in Old Stratford, and other places, which were purchased by Shakspeare in 1602, and were then conveyed “to the onley proper use and behoofe of the saide William Shakspeare, his heires and assignes for ever.” Of a life-interest in a third of these lands also was she assured. The tenement in Blackfriars, purchased in 1614, was conveyed to Shakspeare and *three other persons*; and after his death was re-conveyed by those persons to the uses of his will, “for and in performance of the confidence and trust in them reposed by William Shakspeare deceased.” In this estate, certainly, the widow of our poet had not dower. It has been remarked to us that even the express mention of the second-best bed was anything but unkindness and insult; that the best bed was in all probability an heir-loom: it might have descended to Shakspeare himself from his father as an heir-loom, and, as such, was the property of

* Malone

his own heirs. The best bed was considered amongst the most important of those chattels which went to the heir by custom with the house.*

The will of Shakspeare thus commences:—"I, William Shakspeare, of Stratford-upon-Avon, in the county of Warwick, gent., in perfect health and memory, (God be praised!) do make and ordain this my last will and testament." And yet within one month of this declaration Shakspeare is no more :

OBIT ANO. DOI. 1616. ÆTAT 53. DIE 23. AP.

Such is the inscription on his tomb. It is corroborated by the register of his burial:—"April 25. Will. Shakspeare, gent." Writing forty-six years after the event, the vicar of Stratford says, "Shakspeare, Drayton, and Ben Jonson had a merry meeting, and, it seems, drank too hard, for Shakspeare died of a fever there contracted." A tradition of this nature, surviving its object nearly half a century, is not much to be relied on. But if it were absolutely true, our reverence for Shakspeare would not be diminished by the fact that he accelerated his end in the exercise of hospitality, according to the manner of his age, towards two of the most illustrious of his friends. The "merry meeting," the last of many social hours spent with the full-hearted Jonson and the elegant Drayton, may be contemplated without a painful feeling. Shakspeare possessed a mind eminently social—"he was of a free and generous nature." But, says the tradition, of half a century, "he drank too hard" at this "merry meeting." We believe that this is the vulgar colouring of a common incident. He "died of a fever there contracted." The fever that is too often the attendant upon

* "And note that in some places chattels as heir-looms (as the best bed, table, pot, pan, cart, and other dead chattels moveable) may go to the heir, and the heir in that case may have an action for them at the common law, and shall not sue for them in the ecclesiastical court; but the heir-loom is due by custom, and not by the common law."—*Coke upon Littleton*, 18 b.

a hot spring, when the low grounds upon a river bank have been recently inundated, is a fever that the good people of Stratford did not well understand at that day. The "merry meeting" rounded off a tradition much more effectively. Whatever was the immediate cause of his last illness, we may well believe that the closing scene was full of tranquillity and hope; and that he who had sought, perhaps more than any man, to look beyond the material and finite things of the world, should rest at the last in the "peace which passeth all understanding"—in that assured belief which the opening of his will has expressed with far more than formal solemnity:—"I commend my soul into the hands of God, my Creator, hoping, and assuredly believing, through the only merits of Jesus Christ, my Saviour, to be made partaker of life everlasting."



FRANCIS DRACON



VERY little is known concerning the youth of Sir Walter Raleigh. He was a younger son, descended of an ancient family, and was born at a farm called Hayes, near the mouth of the river Otter, in Devonshire, in the year 1552. He went to Oriel College, Oxford, at an early age, and gained high praise for the quickness and precocity of his talents. In 1569 he began his military career in the civil wars of France, as a volunteer in the Protestant cause. It is conjectured that he remained in France for more than six years, and returned to England in 1576. Soon after, he repaired to the Netherlands, and served as a volunteer against the Spaniards. In such schools, and under such leaders as Coligni and the Prince of Orange, Raleigh's natural aptitude for political and military science received the best nurture : but he was soon drawn from the war in Holland by a pursuit which had captivated his imagination from an early age—the prosecution of the discovery in New World. In con-

junction with his half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a man of courage and ability, and a skilful sailor, he made an unsuccessful attempt to establish a colony in North America. Returning home in 1579, he immediately entered the queen's army in Ireland, and served with good esteem for personal courage and professional skill, until the suppression of the rebellion in that country. He owed his introduction to court, and the personal favour of Elizabeth, as is traditionally reported, to a fortunate and well-improved accident, which is too familiar to need repetition here. It is probable, however, that his name and talents were not unknown, for we find him employed almost immediately in certain matters of diplomacy.

Among the cares and pleasures of a courtier's life, Raleigh preserved his zeal for American discovery. He applied his own resources to the fitting out another expedition in 1583, under command of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, which proved more unfortunate than the former one: two out of the vessels returned home in consequence of sickness, and two were wrecked, including that in which the admiral sailed; and the only result of the enterprise was the taking possession of Newfoundland in the name of England. Still Raleigh's desire for American adventure was not damped. The Continent northward of the Gulf of Florida was at this time unknown. But Raleigh, upon careful study of the best authorities, had concluded that there was good reason for believing that a considerable tract of land did exist in that quarter: and with the assent of the queen in council, from whom he obtained letters patent, granting to himself and his heirs, under certain reservations, property in such countries as he should discover, with a right to provide for their protection and administration, he fitted out two ships, which sailed in April, 1584. The first land which they made was an island named Okakoke, running parallel to the coast of North Carolina. They were well received by the natives, and returned to England in the following autumn highly pleased. Nor was less satisfaction felt by Raleigh, or even by the queen, who conferred on him the

honour of knighthood, a title which was then in high esteem, inasmuch as it was bestowed by that wise princess with a most frugal and just discrimination. She also gave him a very lucrative mark of favour, in the shape of a patent for licensing the selling of wine throughout the kingdom ; and she directed that the new country, in allusion to herself, should be called Virginia. Raleigh did not think it politic, perhaps was not allowed, to quit the court to take charge in person of his undertaking ; and those to whom he intrusted the difficult task of directing the infant colony appear to have been unequal to their office. It is not necessary to pursue the history of an enterprise which proved unsuccessful, and in which Sir Walter personally bore no share. He showed his earnestness by fitting out several expeditions, which must have been a heavy drain upon his fortune. But he is said to have derived immense wealth from prizes captured from the Spaniards ; and we may here observe that the lavish magnificence in dress, especially in jewels, for which Raleigh was remarkable, even in the gorgeous court of Elizabeth (his state dress is said to have been enriched with jewels to the value of 60,000*l.*), may be considered less as an extravagance than as a safe and portable investment of treasure. A mind less active might have found employment more than enough in the variety of occupations which pressed upon him at home. He possessed a large estate, granted out of forfeited lands in Ireland ; but this was always a source rather of expense than of profit, until, in 1601, he sold it to the Earl of Cork. He was Seneschal of the Duchies of Cornwall and Exeter, and held the wardenship of the Stannaries ; and in 1586, as well as formerly in 1584, we find that he possessed a seat in parliament. In 1587 the formidable preparation of the Spanish Armada withdrew the mind of Raleigh, as of all Englishmen, from objects of minor importance, to the defence of their country. He was a member of the council of war directed to prepare a general scheme of defence, and held the office of Lieutenant-General of Cornwall, in addition to the charge of the Isle of Portland : but as on this occasion he possessed

no naval command, he was not actively engaged in the destruction of that mighty armament. In 1589 he served as a volunteer in the expedition of Norris and Drake to Portugal, of which some account has been given in the life of the latter. Nor were his labours unrewarded even in that unfortunate enterprise; for he captured several prizes, and received the present of a gold chain from the queen, in testimony of her approbation of his conduct.

Soon after these events, Raleigh retired to his Irish property, being driven from court, according to some authorities, by the enmity of the Earl of Essex, then a young man just rising into favour. He there renewed a former intimacy with the poet Spenser, who, like himself, had been rewarded with a grant of land out of forfeited estates, and then resided at Kilcolman Castle. Spenser has celebrated the return of his friend in the beautiful pastoral 'Colin Clout's come home again;' and in that, and various passages of his works, he has made honourable mention of the highly poetic spirit which enabled the 'Shepherd of the Ocean,' as he is there denominated, to appreciate the merit of the 'Fairy Queen,' and led him to promote the publication of it by every means in his power. The loss of Raleigh's court favour, if such there was, could not have been of long duration on this occasion. But he incurred more serious displeasure in consequence of a private marriage contracted with Elizabeth Throgmorton, one of the queen's maids of honour, a lady of beauty and accomplishments, who proved her worth and fidelity in the long train of misfortunes which beset the latter years of Raleigh's life. In consequence of this intrigue, he was committed to the Tower. One or two amusing anecdotes are related of the devices which he employed to obtain forgiveness, by working on that vanity which was the queen's chief foible. He succeeded in appeasing his indignant mistress so far as to procure his release; and about the same time, in 1594, she granted to him the valuable manor of Sherborne, in Dorsetshire: but though she requited his services, she still forbade his appearance at court, where he now held the office of captain of the yeomen of the

guard. Raleigh was peculiarly fitted to adorn a court by his imposing person, the graceful magnificence of his taste and habits, the elegance of his manners, and the interest of his conversation. These accomplishments were sure passports to the favour of Elizabeth; and he improved to the utmost the constant opportunities of intercourse with her which his post afforded, insomuch that, except the Earls of Leicester and Essex, no one ever seems to have stood higher in her graces. But Elizabeth's jealousy on the subject of her favourites' marriages is well known, and her anger was lasting, in proportion to the value which she set on the incense of Raleigh's flattery. He retired, on his disgrace, to his new estate, in the improvement and embellishment of which he felt great interest. But though deeply alive to the beauties of nature, he had been too long trained to a life of ambition and adventure to rest contented in the tranquil routine of a country life; and during this period of seclusion, he again turned his thoughts to his favourite subject of American adventure, and laid the scheme of his first expedition to Guiana, in search of the celebrated El Dorado, the fabled seat of inexhaustible wealth. Having fitted out, with the assistance of other private persons, a considerable fleet, Raleigh sailed from Plymouth, February 6, 1595. He left his ships in the mouth of the river Orinoco, and sailed four hundred miles into the interior in boats. It is to be recorded to his honour that he treated the Indians with great kindness; which, contrasted with the savage conduct of the Spaniards, raised so friendly a feeling towards him, that for years his return was eagerly expected, and at length was hailed with delight. The hardships of the undertaking, and the natural advantages of the country which he explored, are eloquently described in his own account of the 'Discovery of Guiana.' But the setting in of the rainy season rendered it necessary to return, without having reached the promised land of wealth; and Raleigh reaped no other fruit of his adventure than a certain quantity of geographical knowledge, and a full conviction of the importance of colonising and taking possession

of the newly-discovered region. This continued through life to be his favourite scheme; but neither Elizabeth nor her successor could be induced to view it in the same favourable light.

On reaching England, he found the queen still unappeased; nor was he suffered to appear at court, and he complains in pathetic terms of the cold return with which his perils and losses were requited. But he was invested with a high command in the expedition of 1596, by which the Spanish fleet was destroyed in the harbour of Cadiz; and to his judgment and temper in overruling the faulty schemes proposed by others the success of that enterprise was chiefly due. Indeed his services were perhaps too important, and too justly appreciated by the public, for his own interests; for the great and general praise bestowed on him on this occasion tended to confirm a jealousy of long standing on the part of the commander-in-chief, the Earl of Essex; and it was probably owing to that favourite's influence that Raleigh was still forbidden the queen's presence. Essex, and the secretary of state, Sir Robert Cecil, regarded each other with mutual distrust and dislike. Cecil and Raleigh were connected by ties of common interest, and, as the latter supposed, of friendship. Still Raleigh found the interest of the minister too weak to serve his purpose, while the interest of the favourite was employed against him; and, as the only method of effecting his own restoration to the queen's favour, he undertook to work a reconciliation between these two powerful rivals. In this he succeeded, to the great admiration of all spectators; and the fruit of his policy was seen in his readmission to the execution of his official duties at court, June 1, 1597. In the following August he was appointed Rear-Admiral in the expedition called the Island Voyage, of which Essex held the chief command. The slight successes which were obtained were again due to the military talents of Raleigh; the main objects of the voyage were lost through the earl's inexperience.

From this time to the death of the queen Raleigh enjoyed an uninterrupted course of favour. The ancient

enmity between Essex and himself was indeed renewed, and that with increased rancour ; but the indiscretions of the favourite had greatly weakened his influence. Raleigh and Cecil spared no pains to undermine him, and were in fact the chief workers of his ruin. This is perhaps the most unamiable passage in Raleigh's life ; and the only excuse to be pleaded for him is, the determined enmity of that unfortunate nobleman. This fault, however, brought a slow but severe punishment with it ; for the death of Essex dissolved the tie which held together Cecil and himself. Neither could be content to act second to the other ; and Raleigh's high reputation, and versatile as well as profound abilities, might well alarm the secretary for his own supremacy. The latter took the surest way of establishing his power prospectively. Elizabeth was now old : Cecil took no steps to diminish the high esteem in which she held Sir Walter Raleigh, but he secretly laboured to prejudice her successor against him, and he succeeded to his wish. Very soon after the accession of James I., Raleigh's post of captain of the guard was taken from him ; and his patent of wines was revoked, though not without a nominal compensation being made. To complete his ruin, it was contrived to involve him in a charge of treason. Most writers have concurred in speaking of this passage of history as inexplicable : it is the opinion of the last historian of Raleigh, Mr. Tytler, that he has found sufficient evidence for regarding the whole plot as a device of Cecil's, and he has supported this opinion by cogent arguments. Lord Cobham, a violent and ambitious but weak man, had engaged in private dealings with the Spanish ambassador, which brought him under the suspicion of the government. By a device of Cecil's (we here follow the account of Mr. Tytler) he was induced, in a fit of anger, and in the belief that Raleigh had given information against him, to accuse Sir Walter himself of being privy to a conspiracy against the government. This charge Cobham retracted, confirmed, and retracted again, behaving in so equivocal a manner, that no reliance whatever can be placed on any of his assertions. But as the

king was afraid of Raleigh as much as the secretary hated him, this vague charge, unsupported by other evidence, was made sufficient to commit him to the Tower; and, after being plied with private examinations, in which nothing criminal could be elicited, he was brought to trial, November 17, 1603. For an account of that memorable scene we shall refer to Mr. Jardine's 'Criminal Trials,' vol. i. It is reported to have been said by one of the judges who presided over it, on his death-bed, that "the justice of England had never been so degraded and injured as by the condemnation of Sir Walter Raleigh." The behaviour of the victim himself was the object of universal admiration, for the tempered mixture of patience and noble spirit with which he bore the oppressive measure dealt to him. He had before been unpopular; but it was recorded by an eye-witness that "he behaved himself so worthily, so wisely, and so temperately, that in half a day the mind of all the company was changed from the extremest hate to the extremest pity."

The sentence of death thus unfairly and disgracefully obtained was not immediately carried into execution. James was not satisfied with the evidence adduced on the trial; and believing at the same time that Raleigh had been plotting against him, he set his royal wit to dive into the mystery. Of the singular scene which our British Solomon devised it is not necessary to speak, since Raleigh was not an actor in it. But as no more evidence could be obtained against him even by the king's sagacity, he was reprieved, and remanded to the Tower, where the next twelve years of his life were spent in confinement. Fortunately, he had never ceased to cultivate literature with a zeal not often found in the soldier and politician, and he now beguiled the tedium of his lot by an entire devotion to those studies which before had only served to diversify his more active and engrossing pursuits. Of his poetical talents we have already made short mention: to the end of life he continued the practice of pouring out his mind in verse, and there are several well-known and beautiful pieces expressive of his

feelings in prison, and in the anticipation of immediate death, especially 'The Lie,' and the beautiful little poem called 'The Pilgrimage.' He also possessed a strong turn for mathematics, and studied them with much success in the society and under the guidance of his friend Thomas Hariot, one of the most accomplished mathematicians of the age. Chemistry was another favourite pursuit, in which, according to the standard of his contemporaries, he made great progress. But the most important occupation of his imprisonment was the composition of his 'History of the World.' Notwithstanding the quaintness of the style and the discursive manner in which the subject is treated, it is impossible to read this volume without admiring the wonderful extent of the author's reading, not only in history, but in philosophy, theology, and even the ponderous and untempting stores of Rabbinical learning. Many of the chapters relate to subjects which few persons would expect to find in a history of the world; yet these will often be found among the most interesting and characteristic portions of the book; and its deep learning is relieved and set off by passages of genuine eloquence, which display to the best advantage the author's rich imagination and grasp of mind. The work extends from the Creation to the end of the second Macedonian war. Raleigh meant to bring it down to modern times; but the untimely death of Henry, Prince of Wales, for whose use it was composed, deprived him of the spirit to proceed with so laborious an undertaking. He enjoyed the confidence of that generous youth in a remarkable degree, and maintained a close correspondence with him on civil, military, and naval subjects. Several discourses on these topics, addressed to the prince, will be found in the editions of Raleigh's works. Henry repaid these services with sincere friendship and admiration; and we may presume that his adviser looked forward to that friendship, not only for a cessation of misfortune, but for a more brilliant period of favour and power than he had yet enjoyed. Fortunately, however, this calamity was preceded by the death of his arch-enemy, Cecil; and

through the mediation of the Duke of Buckingham, employed in consideration of 1500*l.* paid to his uncles, Sir William, Sir John, and Sir Edward Villiers, Raleigh was released from the Tower, in March, 1615; and obtained permission to follow up his long-cherished scheme of establishing a colony in Guiana and working a gold-mine, of which he had ascertained the existence and situation.

The terms on which this licence was granted are remarkable. He was not pardoned, but merely let loose on the engagement of his friends, the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke, that he should return to England. Neither did James contribute to the expense of the undertaking, though it was stipulated that he was to receive a fifth part of the bullion imported. The necessary funds were provided out of the wreck of Raleigh's fortune (his estate of Sherborne had been forfeited), and by those private adventurers who were willing to risk something in reliance on his experience and judgment. A fleet of fourteen sail was thus provided, and Raleigh, by letters under the privy seal, was appointed commander-in-chief and governor of the intended colony. He relied, it is said, on the full powers granted him by this commission as necessarily including a remission of all past offences, and therefore neglected to sue out a formal pardon, which at this period probably would hardly have been denied him. The results of this disastrous voyage must be shortly given. Raleigh sailed March 28, 1617, and reached the coast of Guiana in November following. Being himself disabled by sickness from proceeding farther, he dispatched a party to the mine under the command of Captain Keymis, an officer who had served in the former voyage to Guiana. But during the interval which had elapsed since Raleigh's first discovery of that country, the Spaniards had extended their settlements into it, and in particular had built a town called Santa Thome, in the immediate neighbourhood of the mine in question. James, with his usual duplicity, while he authorised the expedition, revealed every particular connected with it to the Spanish ambassador. The English,

therefore, were expected in the Orinoco, and preparation had been made for repelling them by force. Keymis and his men were unexpectedly attacked by the garrison of Santa Thome, and a sharp contest ensued, in which the English gained the advantage, and burnt the town. In this action Raleigh's eldest son was killed. The Spaniards still occupied the passes to the mine, and after an unsuccessful attempt to dislodge them, Keymis abandoned the enterprise, and returned to the ships. Raleigh's correspondence expresses in affecting terms his grief and indignation at this double misfortune; the loss of a brave and promising son, and the destruction of the hopes which he had founded on this long-cherished adventure. On his return to England, he found himself marked out for a victim to appease the resentment of the Spanish court, to which he had long been an object of fear and hatred. He quietly surrendered himself to Sir Lewis Stewkeley, who was sent to Plymouth to arrest him, and commenced the journey to London under his charge. But his mind fluctuated between the desire to confront his enemies, and a sense of the hopelessness of obtaining justice; and he was at last entrapped by the artifices of the emissaries of government who surrounded him into an attempt to escape, in which he was arrested and committed to close custody in the Tower. Here his conversation and correspondence were narrowly watched, in the hopes that a treasonable understanding with the French government, from which he had received the offer of an asylum in France, might be established against him. His conduct abroad had already been closely scrutinised, in the hope of finding some act of piracy, or unauthorised aggression against Spain, for which he might be brought to trial. Both these hopes failing, and his death, in compliment to Spain, being resolved on, it was determined to carry into effect the sentence passed fifteen years before, from which he had never been legally released; and a warrant was accordingly issued to the judges, requiring them to order execution. The case was a novel one, and threw that learned body into some perplexity. They determined, however,

that after so long an interval execution could not be granted without allowing the prisoner the opportunity of pleading against it; and Raleigh was therefore brought to the bar of the Court of King's Bench, October 28, 1618. The record of his conviction having been read, he was asked whether he could urge anything why the sentence should not be carried into effect. He insisted on the nature of his late commission, and on that plea being overruled, submitted with his usual calmness and dignity. The execution, with indecent haste, was ordered to take place on the following morning. In this last stage of life, his greatness of mind shone with even more than its usual lustre. Calm, and fearless without bravado, his behaviour and speech expressed the piety and resignation of a Christian, with the habitual coolness of one who has braved death too often to shrink at its approach. The accounts of his deportment on the scaffold effectually refute the charges of irreligion and atheism, which some writers have brought against him, unless we make up our minds to believe him an accomplished hypocrite. He spoke at considerable length, and his dying words have been faithfully reported. They contain a denial of all the serious offences laid to his charge, and express his forgiveness of those even who had betrayed him under the mask of friendship. After delivering this address, and spending some time in prayer, he laid his head on the block, and breathing a short private prayer, gave the signal to the executioner. Not being immediately obeyed, he partially raised his head, and said, "What dost thou fear? Strike, man!" and underwent the fatal blow without shrinking or alteration of position. He died in his sixty-sixth year.

Raleigh sat in several parliaments, and took an active part in the business of the house. His speeches, preserved in the Journals, are said by Mr. Tytler to be remarkable for an originality and freedom of thought far in advance of the time. His expression was varied and animated, and his powers of conversation remarkable. His person was dignified and handsome, and he excelled in bodily accomplishments and martial exercises. He

was very fond of paintings, and of music ; and, in literature as in art, he possessed a cultivated and correct taste. He was one of those rare men who seem qualified to excel in all pursuits alike ; and his talents were set off by an extraordinary laboriousness and capacity of application. As a navigator, soldier, statesman, and historian, his name is intimately and honourably linked with one of the most brilliant periods of British history.

The works of Oldys, Birch, Cayley, Mrs. Thompson, and Mr. Tytler, may be consulted concerning this remarkable person. The Life by the last-named gentleman, published in the 'Edinburgh Cabinet Library,' is the most recent ; and the industry of the author has enabled him to gain a clue to some points which before had been imperfectly understood. A list of Raleigh's numerous works is given in the 'Biographia Britannica.' They will be found collected in eight volumes, in the Oxford edition of 1829. Several of his MSS. are preserved in the British Museum.



THERE is no life the chronological course of which is more distinctly known than that of Camden ; but it is the life merely of a student and a man of letters, consisting mostly in the history of his publications, and affording scarcely any anecdotal matter. Nor did he take part in any of the public transactions of his time, except only as an observer and recorder. It thus happens that in a case in which the materials of biography are unusually ample and satisfactory, the biography itself must still be but dry and meagre. Everything can be told, but there is not much of general interest to tell.

William Camden was a Londoner born. His birth took place on the 2nd of May, 1551, in the Old Bailey, at the house of his father, Samson Camden, who was a member of the Company of Painter-Stainers. This company, according to Maitland, the historian of London, still use every Saint Luke's Day, at the election of the master, a silver cup and cover which was given to



CARROLL

them by the great antiquary, as is recorded upon it in a Latin inscription, in which he styles himself "Gul. Camdenus, Clarenceux, filius Samsonis, Pictoris, Londinensis" (William Camden, Clarenceux, son of Samson, painter, of London); the old master drinks out of it to the new one. It appears from Camden's will that he bequeathed the company sixteen pounds to buy them a piece of plate, upon which he directed the above inscription to be engraved. Gibson says that he left them a gilt bowl of sixteen pounds; but this would be a somewhat inconvenient weight for a drinking-cup. Camden's father was a Staffordshire man, having been born in Lichfield, whence he was sent, when very young, to London. His mother's family he has himself commemorated in his *Britannia*, where, in noticing the town of Wirkinton, or Workington, in Cumberland, he says (in Bishop Gibson's English translation), "It is now the seat of the ancient knightly family of the Curwens, descended from Gospatric, Earl of Northumberland, who took that name, by covenant, from Culwen, a family of Galloway, the heir whereof they had married. Here they have a stately castle-like seat; and from this family (excuse the vanity) I myself am descended by the mother's side."

He is said, in more than one of the earlier accounts of him, to have been for some time one of the Blue-coat boys. The school of Christ's Hospital was established by King Edward VI. the year after Camden came into the world; but the records perished in the great fire of 1666; and it is now impossible to ascertain what truth there may be in the statement that he was a scholar there. He says nothing to that effect himself in a paper of brief memoranda of his boyhood which he left behind him. But he there notes that at twelve years of age he was attacked by the plague, upon which he was sent for country air to Islington; and that when he recovered, and returned home, he was put to St. Paul's School.

From St. Paul's he proceeded to the University of Oxford, where he was entered a servitor at Magdalen College, in 1566. Missing the place of what is called a semy in that college (a scholar or half-fellow), he re-

moved to Broadgate Hall, now Pembroke College ; and here he remained two years and a half. It is said that formerly, and perhaps still, the graces used at Pembroke College were composed by Camden when he was a member of that society. Thence, after a time, he transferred himself to Christ Church ; and it appears to have been while he was here that he stood candidate for a fellowship in All Souls, which, in a letter written many years after to Archbishop Usher, he affirms that he lost by the opposition of the Popish faction, then predominant in the University, for his known attachment to the established religion. It was perhaps on the same account that, when in 1570 he petitioned the Congregation of Regents to be admitted Bachelor of Arts, his petition was refused. His teachers at Oxford to whom he is stated to have been most indebted were, first, the learned Dr. Thomas Cooper, author of the Latin Thesaurus, and afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, and then of Winchester, who, when Camden came up to the university, was master of the grammar-school attached to Magdalen College ; and afterwards Dr. Thomas Thornton, through whom it was that he was removed to Broadgate Hall, and who, when he was afterwards promoted to a canonry in Christ Church, carried Camden with him, and gave him accommodation in his own lodgings. Camden has made mention of his having been a student of Christ Church in his *Britannia*, where, describing the ruined castle of Wallingford, he writes :—“ We much wondered at its greatness and magnificence when we were boys, and retired thither from Oxford (for it was a retiring-place for the students of Christ Church).”

Bishop Gibson's account is, that “ after five years spent in the University, and two remarkable disappointments in his endeavours to settle himself there, his circumstances put him under a necessity of leaving that place.” Upon this he came to London, in the year 1571. He has himself stated in one of his tracts that, after leaving the University, carried by his antiquarian zeal, which had already taken possession of him while at Oxford, he went about and surveyed a considerable part of England with his

own eyes; and it is not known in what other way he was employed for the next four or five years. Ever from the time he began to turn his mind to any sort of study, the investigation of antiquities, he tells us, had been his chief delight; to this, he says, I was by I know not what natural inclination wholly given; thither nature drew me whether I would or no; so that when I was a boy at school whatever seemed to look in that direction caught my instant and eager attention; and, when a young man at the University; whenever the regular business of the place left me an unoccupied moment, to that pursuit I applied all my thoughts and every power of my mind.

This inclination, and the talents which he had shown, had already before he left Oxford procured him several friends well able to advance him in the world. Among his acquaintance at the University who were united to him by their common love of antiquities were the two brothers, Richard and George Carew, the former the author of the *Survey of Cornwall*, the latter afterwards Earl of Totness. Another of his patrons at this time was the all-accomplished Sir Philip Sidney. But the persons to whom he was most indebted appear to have been Dr. Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Westminster, and Godfrey Goodman, either the brother or the nephew of the Dean. He has mentioned the Dean in his *Britannia* as having been a particular patron both to himself and to his studies; and according to Anthony Wood, who professes to write on the authority of a manuscript in the Bodleian Library written by Dr. Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, the son of the Dean's nephew, the latter both supplied him with books and defrayed the expense of his journeys, which would seem to have been for some years nearly the whole expense of his living. It was probably by the advice or invitation of the Goodmans that he came to London.

In 1573 he again applied for his degree of Bachelor of Arts; and he seems now to have obtained it, although he never went through the form of what is called completing it by determinations. Nevertheless, we find

him some years afterwards describing himself as in full possession of the degree. Meanwhile, the patronage of Dean Goodman procured him in 1575 the place of second master of Westminster School; and in this situation he remained for seventeen or eighteen years. He discharged his duties as a teacher with great diligence and ability; and he performed one important literary service in connexion with his office by the preparation of a compendium of Greek Grammar ('*Grammatices Graecae Institutio Compendiaria*'), which, however, was not published till 1597. This was long the common Grammar of the Greek language used in all the schools of England, as Lilly's was the Latin Grammar. It is said, however, to be in the main only an abridgment, although with many improvements, of a Grammar compiled by Dr. Edward Grant, who was head master of Westminster School while Camden was second master. Grant lived till September or October, 1601; but he resigned the school in February, 1593, and Camden then succeeded him as head master. In this new position he continued to be connected with Westminster School for five years longer.

All this while, however, his reputation as a master of British antiquities had been growing and spreading, not only in his own country, but over all Europe. He has himself told us, in the same Latin tract from which we have already translated some of his statements about his early addictedness to the study of antiquities, that, when he found himself engaged in the laborious duties of a teacher, he endeavoured to withdraw his mind from its favourite pursuit, but could not. His old inclination could not be subdued; whenever he had a holiday, it was given to his former inquiries, and his vacations were usually spent in visiting one distant part of the island or another in quest of antiquarian information. Thus, it appears from his own brief memoranda that in 1582 he made a journey into Yorkshire, going down by the east coast and returning through Lancashire; that in 1589 he was in Devonshire; and that the next year he went to Wales, in company with his friend the learned Dr. Francis Godwin, afterwards Bishop, first of

Llandaff and then of Hereford, and the author of the Catalogue of English Bishops. In 1594, again, we find him making an excursion to Salisbury and Wells, and returning by Oxford; and in 1596 travelling northward as far as to Carlisle, accompanied by his friend Sir Robert Cotton. Even before the publication of his great work his name had become so eminent that learned foreigners who visited England were wont to seek his acquaintance, and others entered into correspondence with him. Thus Abraham Ortelius, the great restorer of geography, as Camden terms him, is stated to have come over from the Low Countries to consult him as the chief oracle that he could apply to on the subject of British history; and, according to his own account, it was mainly by the persuasion of Ortelius that he was induced to think of digesting his antiquarian and topographical collections into a complete account of his native country. Another of his foreign friends was the learned President Brisson, of the Parlement of Paris, who made his acquaintance when he was here in 1581. His correspondence with the illustrious De Thou commenced at a later date.

His great work, the *Britannia*, appeared at last, in Latin, in a small square octavo, in 1586. The original title is, at full length, '*Britannia, sive florentissimorum Regnorum Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, et Insularum adjacentium, ex intima antiquitate, Chorographica Descriptio*' (that is, Britain, or a Chorographical Description of the most flourishing Kingdoms of England, Scotland, Ireland, and the adjacent Islands, from the remotest antiquity). From a pocket volume Camden's *Britannia* has grown in the latest English edition into four huge folios; but, while much has in this way been added to the fulness of its details, and also something to its accuracy, the original character of the work has been altogether changed or disguised. It is now a vast repository of every thing which its successive editors have been able to collect connected with its subject, and which they could contrive to fasten in any way upon the original text. As it came from the hands of its author, the *Britannia* was a work of art, prepared with all the

attention to selection, economy, and finish which that character implies. It was apparently designed by Camden for foreign readers more than for his own countrymen; and therefore he only inserted in it what was likely to be universally interesting, or to be deemed worthy of attention by all scholars in every country whom the subject might attract. He certainly never intended it for a complete dictionary or cyclopædia of British topography and antiquities, or for anything in the nature of such a compilation. What he aimed at was the production of a classic work, in which the manner should go for as much as the matter. The *Britannia* may for many purposes be a more useful book in its present form than it was as Camden left it; but it has no longer any pretensions to be what it was his ambition to make it. Persons, accordingly, who take their notions of Camden from either Gough's or Gibson's English '*Britannia*,' are apt to miss the very thing which principally distinguishes him among and sets him at the head of all our English antiquaries. In felicity of style, indeed, rising at times to eloquence and poetic fancy, his predecessor Leland surpasses him; but Leland, with all his learning and industry, has produced no work so carefully elaborated throughout as the *Britannia*; neither, perhaps, is his judgment equal to his taste and scholarship. In the combination of elegance, accuracy, and sagacity, Camden stands unrivalled. He is absolutely without any of the besetting sins or weaknesses of the common tribe of antiquaries; he is never either prosy, or frivolous, or crotchety, but always looks at his subject from the point which affords the largest view of it, as well as with a remarkably clear and searching eye. He is commonly designated the learned Camden; and he was eminently learned, not only among antiquaries, but among scholars; but the qualities in which he was pre-eminent were acuteness and good sense. We would style him the sagacious Camden. He is not only always up to the highest intelligence of his time, but frequently beyond it. His conclusions and conjectures have occasionally that something of the prophetic which more or less marks

the speculations of every foremost thinker, and which it sometimes requires the lapse of centuries to verify.

Even under the eye and in the hands of the author, however, the *Britannia* in the course of successive editions considerably outgrew its original dimensions. The number of re-impressions of the work that were called for in Camden's lifetime strikingly attests the estimation in which it was held. A second edition of it appeared at London, in 1587; a third, in 1590; a fourth (the first in 4to.), in 1594; a fifth, in 1600; a sixth (in folio), in 1607; besides two Frankfort editions, both exact copies of the third London edition, in 1590 and in 1616; and an epitome of the 1607 edition at Amsterdam in 1617. The first edition of Philemon Holland's English translation of it was also brought out (in folio) in 1610, most probably under Camden's sanction. "When Mr. Camden published the last edition of his *Britannia*," says Bishop Gibson, "the book met with so much applause and commendation from the learned, that they knew no title great enough for the author. He was styled the Varro, the Strabo, and the Pausanias of Britain; and his work universally owned to be the most complete and accurate in its kind that had appeared in any nation."

In February 1589, Camden had been presented by his friend Dr. John Piers, then Bishop of Salisbury, to the prebend of Ilfarcumb, Ilfarcumb, or Ilfordcome (on the north coast of Devonshire), a preferment which could then be held by laymen; and in 1593, as we have mentioned, he had succeeded to the head mastership of Westminster school, on the resignation of Dr. Grant. In a letter written in his old age to Archbishop Usher, he takes credit to himself for the number of distinguished persons who had been there trained by him in the light of the true religion. "God," he says, "so blessed my labours, that the now Bishops of London [King], Durham [Neal], and St. Asaph [Parry], to say nothing of persons employed now in eminent places abroad, and many of especial note at home, of all degrees, do acknowledge themselves to have been my scholars. Yea, I brought

there to church divers gentlemen of Ireland, as Walshes, Nugents, O'Railey, Shees, the eldest son of the Archbishop of Casiles [Cashell], Peter Lombard, a merchant's son of Waterford, a youth of admirable docility, and others bred popishly and so affected."

His friends, however, naturally desired to see him placed in a situation of less labour, and where he would have more leisure for the studies by which he was most of all men qualified to benefit the world. It appears that he had been at one time offered, it is supposed by Burghley, the place of a master in the now abolished Court of Requests, but had refused it. In September, 1598, however, on the death of Richard Leigh, Clarenceux King of Arms, Sir Fulk Grevil, who was an intimate friend of Camden's, asked the office for him from the queen, and at once obtained it; he was made Richmond Herald on the 22nd of October, and Clarenceux King on the 23rd. "I know not," he says in his letter to Usher, "who may justly say that I was ambitious, who contented myself in Westminster School when I writ my Britannia and eleven years afterwards, who refused a Mastership of Requests offered, and then had the place of a King of Arms without any suit cast upon me. I did never set sail after present preferments, or desired to soar higher by others. I never made suit to any man—no, not to his majesty, but for a matter of course incident to my place; neither (God be praised) I needed, having gathered a contented sufficiency by my long labours in the school." As for his promotion to his office in the College of Heralds, Gibson states, that "till the whole business was over he did not so much as think of the thing, but the news of his success was a surprise to him. And when the Lord Burghley, who was his great patron, expressed his dissatisfaction that he had not applied to him upon that occasion, he returned this answer, that it was purely a thought of Sir Fulk Grevil, without so much as his knowledge."

There was one person, nevertheless, to whom Camden's promotion seemed the very reverse of a fit or proper appointment. This was Mr. Rafe Brookesmouth,

who had changed the name he was born with to what he deemed the more modish form of Brooke; and who holding the office of York Herald in the College of Arms, together with a great conceit of his own superior knowledge in his art or profession, most probably thought that he ought to have himself succeeded to the place of Clarenceux King. It has been sufficiently shown, however, by the writer of the life of Camden in the *Biographia Britannica*, that it was not the appointment of Camden over his head, as has been commonly assumed, that first excited Brooke's hostility, although it may have been afterwards exasperated by that circumstance. It appears that his attention was first attracted to the heraldic and genealogical errors, as he conceived them to be, of the *Britannia*, after the publication of the fourth edition in 1594, in which the notices of the descents of families were greatly extended. According to his own account, he first got some persons of good credit and learning to advertise Camden in a friendly manner of the mistakes he had made: "to whom," says Brooke, "his answer was, that he could not correct any of them for discrediting his whole work, as though mending the sores would have maimed the body." Without taking this to be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, it may be received as proving (unless we are to set it aside as altogether a fabrication) that Brooke's quarrel with the *Britannia* had originally nothing to do with any disappointment he may have felt at its author's promotion. "Secondly," his account proceeds, "in private, when I heard his addressment to a fifth impression, I myself dealt with him for the amendment of some slips in his *Britannia*, of the same kind, promising him the use of my own observations and collections, which, as proffered wares, fastidiously he rejected, not accounting them worthy his thanks or acceptance, contrary to the advice of the sober learned, who are content to hear the conceit of a mean friend sometimes, and respect the offer although but a blind man should point out the way. The rat is not so contemptible but she may help the lion at a pinch out of

those nets wherein his strength is hampered; and the words of an inferior may often carry matter in them to admonish his superior of some important consideration. And surely, of what account soever I might have seemed to this learned man, yet in regard of my profession and courteous offer (I being an ancient officer of arms, and he then but a schoolmaster), [he] might well have vouchsafed the perusal of my notes." It is evident enough that this Brooke was an illiterate low-minded fellow, with whom Camden wanted to have nothing to do. Whether he might have ever published his attack if Camden had not been raised to the office which he thought he himself ought to have had may be doubted. But at last in 1599 he came out with it in the shape of a book (without licence, Gibson says, or name of either printer or bookseller), bearing the title of 'A Discovery of certain Errors published in print in the much commended Britannia.' It was dedicated to the Earl of Essex, the head of the interest opposed to Burghley, who was Camden's patron. The fifth edition of the *Britannia*, which was published the next year, was probably already on its way through the press when Brooke's tract made its appearance. The answer Camden made to his assailant was contained in a short explanation, addressed *Ad Lectorem* (To the Reader), and in which Brooke's name was never mentioned, inserted at the end. It is in this paper that he gives the account of his early love of the study of antiquities, which we have extracted in a previous page, and states that he was moved to draw out the first scheme of his *Britannia* by the earnest exhortation of Abraham Ortelius. As for his vindication of himself from Brooke's charges, it must be admitted to have been perfectly satisfactory. He showed that in regard to most of the matters in dispute he was right and his critic wrong; although he acknowledged that he had fallen into a few mistakes from trusting to one whom he might well have taken for a sufficient authority, a predecessor of his own in the office of Clarenceux King of Arms. Brooke, however, returned to the charge, in so far at least as to draw in a rejoinder to Camden's defence: but he never sent it

the press, and it remained in MS. till the year 1723, when it was published by Anstis, the learned Garter King of Arms. It is entitled 'A Second Discovery of Errors published in the much commended Britannia, 1594, very prejudicial to the descents and successions of the ancient nobility of this realm; with a reply to Mr. Camden's apology *Ad Lectorem*, in his fifth edition, 1600.'

In 1588 Camden had supplicated the Convocation of Regents at Oxford to be allowed to proceed Master of Arts without reading the usual three lectures; and his prayer was complied with, on condition that he stood in the following act; but this, it appears, circumstances did not allow him to do. Many years after, in 1613, when he attended the funeral of Sir Thomas Bodley, the degree was offered him by the University; but whether he accepted or declined it is not known.

In 1600 he published, in small quarto, a short account of the monuments and inscriptions in Westminster Abbey, which was reprinted, with corrections and enlargements, in 1603, and again in 1606. In 1603 appeared, in a folio volume, at Frankfort, his collection of English, Norman, Irish, and Welsh Latin chroniclers ('Anglica, Normannica, Hibernica, Cambrica, a Veteribus Scripta'), containing Asser, Walsingham, Gemitiensis, Giraldus Cambrensis, &c., mostly now published for the first time from manuscripts in his own library. It is still a volume of great value, and when it first appeared it made a vast addition to the previously accessible sources of information on our early history. This was followed in 1605 by the well-known little work commonly called his 'Remains,' but the full title of which in the original edition is, 'Remains of a greater work concerning Britain, the Inhabitants thereof, their Languages, Names, Surnames, Impresses, Wise Speeches, Poesies, and Epitaphs.' It consists in fact of the matter which remained unused of the collections he had made for the Britannia, after he had completed that work. It contains many curious things, and has always been popular. The first edition was in 4to.: a seventh, in 8vo., professing to be "much amended, with many rare

antiquities never before imprinted, by the industry and care of John Philipot, Somerset Herald, and W. D. Gent." appeared in 1674.*

The latter years of his life were principally dedicated to the composition of what is, after the *Britannia*, his greatest performance, his Latin Annals of the reign of Elizabeth (*Annales Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum Regnante Elizabetha*), the first part of which, coming down to the year 1589, was published in folio at London, in 1615, and in 8vo. at Frankfort the following year. The second part, though completed by the year 1617, he withheld from the press during his lifetime; and it was first printed in 8vo. at London in 1625. An English translation of the entire work is inserted by Kennet in his *Complete History*. Camden began his Annals of the Reign of Elizabeth in 1597, at the instigation of Lord Burghley, whose view was, that the history should be a monument to the fame of his royal mistress, and probably little else than a panegyric from beginning to end; but the changed circumstances in which it was written and published prevented the finished performance from turning out exactly conformable to the original design or conception. It is in fact such a his-

* There has been some difference of statement as to the year in which the *Remains* was first published. The Dedication, to Sir Robert Cotton, is dated the 12th of June, 1603, and Dr. Smith, Camden's earliest biographer, says the book was published in 1604. The date on the title-page, however, is 1605. But it probably appeared early in that year; as may be gathered from the mention of it as a book upon which he had "lighted of late," in a letter of Richard Carew, the historian of Cornwall, dated 8th April, 1605, which is inserted among the 'Original Letters of Eminent Literary Men of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries; with Notes and Illustrations by Sir Henry Ellis, K.H.,' 4to. Lond. Printed for the Camden Society, 1843, pp. 98-100. In the Index Carew's letter is erroneously entered as relating to a "book dedicated to" Camden. The *Remains* was an anonymous publication; and the Dedication was subscribed only with the final letters of Camden's Christian and surname.

tory of the reign of Elizabeth as might be expected to be produced by a court writer in the reign of her successor. The work was submitted, before being published, to the perusal of King James; and of course it could contain nothing that would give offence to his majesty. In particular, the story of his mother could be told only in one way. It was at one time supposed that the work had been in many parts altered and interpolated by the royal order or pen; but for that notion there seems to be no good ground. The standard edition, published by Hearne in 1717 from a manuscript corrected by Camden himself, exhibits no variations which favour any such conclusion. We are bound then to believe that, if the work was biassed by the time and circumstances in which it was prepared, so were the actual opinions of the writer. In his Preface, while he speaks with little satisfaction of its execution, he asserts the integrity and good faith with which it had been compiled in solemn terms. "Whatever it be," are his concluding words, "I dedicate and consecrate it at the altar of truth to God, to my country, and to posterity." Selden has pronounced Bacon's History of Henry VII. and Camden's Annals to be the only two historical works relating to English affairs worthy of their subject; but Camden's performance cannot claim a place in that shortest of all literary catalogues, the catalogue of great historical works. Its chief merit is distinctness of statement. As a piece of writing, it is probably at least equal to the Britannia; but then something of higher art is looked for in a history than in a topographical description. Even its value as a record of facts is not very great. It does not contain very much that is not to be found elsewhere; and a large mass of information respecting the events of Elizabeth's reign is now before the public, which was inaccessible and unknown when Camden wrote.

The summers of the last years of his life Camden spent mostly at Chiselhurst in Kent; and it was here that he was attacked with his last illness, in the autumn of 1623. On the 18th of August, as he sat in his chair,

absorbed in thought, he suddenly lost his muscular power, and fell from his seat on the floor; he did not, however, injure himself; and he soon so far recovered his strength as to get again upon his feet. He has himself noted the incident among the last of the entries in the Diary which he kept during the reign of James, and from which Kennet has abstracted and translated what he calls his Annals of that reign. A severe illness, however, followed, which carried him off on the 9th of November. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, in the south aisle, near to the place where his monument may still be seen. The attendance at his funeral was very splendid, comprising not only all the College of Heralds, but a great number of the nobility and other distinguished persons. The greater part of his savings he had set aside the year before his death to found a Professorship of History in the University of Oxford. The rest he left mostly in small legacies and remembrances to his relations and friends. Among the former his will, made on his last birthday, mentions his cousin John Wyat, painter, of London, and Mr. Camden, of London, silkman, of whom the former has a legacy of a hundred, the latter one of ten pounds. Besides the sixteen pounds to the painter-stainers, he also left twelve pounds to the company of cordwainers, or shoemakers, to purchase them a piece of plate, on which he directed the same inscription to be engraved as on that to be purchased by the painters. His printed books and manuscripts he bequeathed to Sir Robert Cotton, except such as related to arms and heraldry, which he directed that his successor in the office of Clarenceux should have upon certain conditions. "But," according to Bishop Gibson, "upon the erection of a new library in the church of Westminster, the printed part was removed thither by the procurement of Dr. John Williams, Lord Keeper of England, Bishop of Lincoln, and dean of that church; who laid hold of an expression in the will that was capable of a double meaning." A number of tracts and papers written by Camden, together with his Life and a collection of his letters, was published by Dr. Thomas

Smith in 1691 ; and other letters from him and to him are to be found in various publications. His name, which has been sung by Spenser, and of which his works are an enduring monument, has lately been brought into additional celebrity by the novel and successful experiment of the Camden Society.



FRANCIS BACON was the youngest son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, and was born at York House in the Strand, on the 22nd of January, 1561. In boyhood he was sprightly and intelligent beyond his years. The queen, who was taken with the smartness of his answers, used to try him with questions on various subjects; and it is said, that once when she asked him how old he was, his reply was ingeniously complimentary:—"I am just two years younger than your Majesty's happy reign." Elizabeth expressed her approbation by calling the boy "her young lord keeper." Nothing is known of his early education. Having, however, parents of a superior order—a father distinguished as a lawyer and a statesman, and a mother gifted with uncommon abilities, and eminent for her learning and piety, Bacon was placed favourably, from the first, for the formation of a learned and virtuous character.

In his thirteenth year he was sent to Trinity College,



W. A. G. G. H.

Cambridge, and was placed under the tuition of Dr. Whitgift, at that time master of the college, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. Here Bacon studied with diligence and success. The following fact, connected with his residence at college, has been thus stated and authenticated by Dr. Rawley, his chaplain and biographer:—"Whilst he was commorant at the University, about sixteen years of age (as his lordship hath been pleased to impart unto myself), he first fell into the dislike of the philosophy of Aristotle. Not for the worthlessness of the author, to whom he would ever ascribe all high attributes, but for the unfruitfulness of the way—being a philosophy (as his lordship used to say) only strong for disputations and contentions, but barren of the production of works for the life of man. In which mind he continued to his dying day.

On leaving Cambridge, he entered Gray's Inn as a student of law. It is likely that his admission was in Michaelmas term, since it appears, from the records of the Inn, that he was made an antient on the 21st of November, 1576—an honour usually conferred on barristers, but bestowed on the sons of judges in consequence of their birth. His attendance in London not being required for some years, by the regulations of his inn, Bacon was sent, in compliance with a custom at the time common among the nobility, to study the institutions and manners of other countries. He went accordingly in the suite of Sir Amias Paulet, the British ambassauor to the court of France. His superior sagacity and discretion soon induced the ambassador to intrust him with a message of some delicacy and importance to the queen; a commission which Bacon executed so as to obtain the royal approbation. On his return to Paris, he made frequent excursions into the country, spent some time in Poitiers, and busied himself in collecting information on the characters and resources of the different princes of Europe. His work *Of the State of Europe*, in which he arranged and estimated the information thus collected, and which was written when he was nineteen years of age, displays conspicuously the industry, guided by deep

penetration, which characterized his youthful mind. He places everything in the light which best shows its nature as a political element. He estimates the different weights, in the scale of national importance, with an inductive and philosophic soberness—a justness of discrimination, and a nicety of tact and acuteness, which give us not merely a knowledge of the subject, but also an insight into the state of his mind, prompted to make such observations by the early influence of that ambition which was the spring and life of his career.

His studies abroad were interrupted by the death of his father in 1579. Returning to London on this occasion, he found himself the only one of his family left unprovided for; his father having been prevented by the suddenness of his death from purchasing an estate with the money set aside for his youngest son. Instead of the whole, Francis received only a fifth share of the money. This caused him “straits and difficulties” in his youth. When a student in Gray’s Inn, he divided his time between law and philosophy; and nothing can be more false than the fustian of his biographers about his genius being too lofty for the dry and thorny paths of legal investigation. He was early a proficient in law, and the knowledge which he attained could only have been acquired by a bent of mind suited to its investigations. Law was his principal study. Though when a student he sketched his great work the ‘*Organon*,’ in a piece which his youthful pride entitled ‘*Partus Temporis Maximus*,’ the Greatest Birth of Time, his studies were chiefly directed to legal subjects.

On the 27th of June, 1582, he was called to the bar. His practice soon became considerable. In 1586, four years after, he was made a bencher. In his 28th year he became council extraordinary to the queen. In 1588 he was appointed a reader to his Inn; and again, in 1600, the Lent double-reader; appointments which showed the opinion of his professional acquirements held by those who were best able to judge of them, since the duty of reader was generally discharged by men of eminence in the profession, and seldom by persons so young as Bacon

in years and practice, when he first received the honour. His double-reading on the Statute of Uses has been republished several times, first in 1642; and in 1804 it was edited by William Henry Rowe, as a work of high authority on the difficult subject which it investigates.

Although connected with the most powerful family of Elizabeth's reign,—the nephew of Lord Burleigh, and the cousin of Sir Robert Cecil,—his advancement corresponded neither to the natural influence of his talents nor the apparently favourable position in which he was placed by his connexions. The practical and every-day minds of the Cecils were ill-fitted for appreciating the philosophic genius of Bacon; and his early and zealous friendship for their rival, the accomplished and unfortunate Earl of Essex, armed their prudence against him. They represented him to the queen as a speculative man; a dangerous individual, therefore, in the realities of business. All that the Cecils ever procured for him was the reversion of the office of Registrar of the Star Chamber; an appointment which, to use Bacon's comparison, "mended his prospect, but did not fill his barn." It was twenty years before he received the salary of 1600*l.* per annum, connected with this situation. The exertions of Essex in behalf of Bacon were more hearty, but less efficient. The office of solicitor-general becoming vacant, Essex endeavoured to procure the place for his friend, and when baffled by the superior influence of the Cecils, he generously made him a present of Twickenham Park, worth about 1800*l.*, and so beautiful a spot, that Bacon called it "a Garden of Paradise." A coldness came over their friendship owing to difference of policy and opinion. Bacon in vain entreated Essex to desist from the proceedings which caused his ruin. They parted on bad terms in consequence. Bacon reckoned the last act of Essex no better than madness. When ruin closed round upon him, Bacon did much that ingenious remonstrance and affectionate entreaty could do with her majesty in behalf of the ill-advised Earl. Many have doubted his sincerity in this course; and perhaps with some reason. At the command of her ma-

jesty, Bacon appeared as one of her majesty's counsel against his former friend ; and in mitigation of this apparent ingratitude, his admirers urge the compulsion laid upon him by the duties of his office, the risk of implication in the treasons of his patron, consequent upon refusal, and the opportunity which it gave him of mitigating the severity of the accusation. When commanded by the queen and her counsel to draw up a declaration of the treasons of Robert, Earl of Essex, it was found necessary to alter and embitter it considerably, the attachment of Bacon having softened down his statement so much that it was reckoned too mild for the nature of the case ; and her majesty remarked on first reading it, " I see old love is not easily forgotten." The public judge only by appearances, and Bacon's conduct was accordingly much censured. In his own vindication he addressed to one of the deceased earl's most devoted friends, a letter stating his conduct, and claiming merit to himself on grounds which perhaps will not satisfy those who require in political friendships the disinterestedness and self-sacrificing feelings of private attachment.

In 1592 Bacon was returned to parliament for the county of Middlesex, and distinguished himself in the debates by taking the popular side. His first political production was published in 1594. It was *Observations upon a libel entitled ' A Declaration of the Causes of the great Troubles.'* In 1596 his most popular work, *' Essays or Counsels, Civil and Moral,'* was published, and about the same time his *' Maxims of Law.'* His circumstances at this time were very bad : he was disappointed in his attempts at forming a lucrative matrimonial connexion, and twice arrested for debt. Two years afterwards his *' History of the Alienation Office'* was written : the MS. is in the Inner Temple Library. His *' In felicem Memoriam Elizabethæ Angliæ Reginae'* was also written about this period. It was not published, however, until after his death, when it appeared, according to directions left in his will. This work, entitled in English *' Felicities of Queen Elizabeth,'* is a noble eulogium on the character of an illustrious princess, covering all the parts

of her history with the eloquent praise of one whose admiration flowed fully, in spite of the fact that she had constantly obstructed and retarded his ambitious views and advancement. It was about the time this panegyric was written, that a second legal treatise appeared, called 'The Use of the Law for the Preservation of our Persons, Goods, and Good Name, according to the Laws and Customs of this Land.'

Upon the accession of James I. the fortunes of Bacon brightened. He had employed every art in order to make sure of his interest with the new monarch, writing to all the Scottish gentlemen of whom he possessed any knowledge to engage their influence and services in his behalf. His vigilance had its reward. On the 23rd of July, 1603, he was one of 237 gentlemen who received the honour of knighthood. His eloquence and information gave him great weight in the House of Commons. Having been appointed by the lower house to make a representation of the oppressions of the royal purveyors committed in the name of the king, he executed his delicate task with a degree of address which combined prudence and boldness so well as to satisfy both the king and the parliament. The parliament gave him a vote of thanks, and the king made him one of his counsel. He received with this appointment, on the 25th of August, 1604, a pension of 40*l.* a-year, and 60*l.* additional for the joint services of himself and his brother Mr. Anthony Bacon: and he continued to rise in spite of the opposition of Cecil, now Earl of Salisbury, and the powerful rivalry of Sir Edward Coke, the attorney-general. 'The Advancement of Learning' was published in 1605. Two years after he was made solicitor-general, and his professional diligence was crowned with distinguished success. His practice in Westminster Hall extended. Successful in his profession, and a favourite with the people, he added to his good fortune a rich wife, Alice, daughter of Benedict Barnham, Esq., a wealthy alderman of London. His address in stating the grievances of the nation to the king, an undertaking with which he was intrusted by the Commons, without lessen-

ing his influence at court, increased his popularity among the people. His speech on exchanging the ancient tenures of the crown for a competent revenue, advanced his reputation still higher by its clearness and eloquence. Though engrossed with the affairs of public life, his engagements did not turn him aside from his great design—formed in his early youth and cherished in his maturer years—the development of his improved plan for studying the sciences. He published the groundwork of his ‘*Novum Organon Scientiarum*,’ his ‘*Cogitata et Visa*,’ and sent copies of it to his learned friends for examination and criticism. The ‘*Filum Labyrinthi*’ was the original draft of his ‘*Cogitata et Visa*.’ The author of original and unpopular (because new) opinions in philosophy, Sir Francis Bacon exercised the utmost prudence in the publication of his views, adapting the light to the visual organs of others so as rather to enlighten than to dazzle, and letting in no more rays into the dark chamber of science, which it was his purpose to light up, than was necessary gradually and effectually to increase its brightness into sunshine. This was not all. He gained a literary and philosophical reputation by writing on less perilous subjects, with the intention, as he frequently stated, of securing an amount of consideration and respect likely to protect and *bulwark* his peculiar and original opinions from the attacks to which they would necessarily be exposed on their first publication. This was the object of his next work, ‘*The Wisdom of the Antients*,’ which was published in 1610. It prepared persons of all varieties of opinion for receiving with respect anything that came from him: the admirers of the wisdom of our ancestors were conciliated by the discussion of a favourite theme, and the original thoughts clothed in beautiful and eloquent language, which he infused into a hackneyed discussion, pleased a higher class of readers.

In the year 1611 Bacon was a joint judge of the Knight Marshals’ Court. In 1613 he was appointed attorney-general, and elected a member of the privy council. On this occasion the House of Commons

showed their regard for him in a particular manner. It was objected that a seat in the lower was incompatible with the duties of the attorney-general in the upper house of parliament. The objection was thought valid, but overruled in his particular case, in consideration of their regard for his services. His income was now considerable. His professional practice was great: the attorney-generalship was worth 6000*l.* per annum; as registrar of the Star Chamber he received 1600*l.*; and he had a good estate in Hertfordshire, and his father's seat of Gorhambury, by the death of his brother. An income like this, added to his wife's large fortune, might be supposed sufficient to remove all temptations to increase it by doubtful or dishonourable means.

While he was attorney-general Bacon was engaged professionally in several important cases. He was the king's agent against Peachum, a clergyman who was prosecuted for treason contained in a sermon never preached; and he exerted himself in getting the opinion of the judges before the trial, notwithstanding the unwillingness of Chief Justice Coke, and the illegality and injustice of such procedure. On the trial of the Earl and Countess of Somerset for the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury in the Tower, he distinguished himself by the perspicuity and eloquence with which he conducted the prosecution.

It has been common to describe Bacon as a flatterer of persons in power. That he was a courtier is undeniable. It must be mentioned to his praise, however, that he never paid his court to Somerset; and his connexion with Villiers was by no means one of servility and flattery, for he often acted independently, and his letters to him are full of advice, freedom, and sometimes reproof.

On the 7th of March, 1617, he was made lord keeper of the great seal, and on the 7th of May following he took office. During the king's visit to Scotland the new lord keeper exercised considerable power; but he did not exercise it so as to please. His manœuvring to prevent a marriage between Sir John Villiers, brother of

Buckingham the royal favourite, and a daughter of Sir Edward Coke, an alliance which would have increased the power of his rival, involved him in perplexity, and brought on him the resentment of Villiers. He also offended James by thinking ill of the projected marriage between the Prince of Wales and the Infanta of Spain. In many instances he acted in his high office in a way beneficial to the state. He several times refused to put the seals to the improvident grants of Buckingham. His prudence, however, enabled him to regain the favour and friendship which he lost by these proceedings, and his advancement continued. On the 4th of January, 1618, he reached the summit of his ambition in being appointed lord high chancellor of England; and by letters patent dated Wanstead, 11th July, 1618, he was created Baron Verulam, and took his seat among the peers. Egerton, the old lord chancellor, had wished Bacon to be his successor, and Bacon himself wrote to the king soliciting the place on the grounds of his superior fitness for the office and the ready flexibility with which he would accommodate himself to the will and wishes of his sovereign. On putting the seals into his hands his Majesty gave him three advices: first, "never to seal anything without mature deliberation; secondly, to give righteous judgments between parties with dispatch; and thirdly, not to extend the royal prerogative too far." Bacon entered on his high office with great pomp, and delivered a long and eloquent speech on the advices of the king, in presence of many of the nobility. The influence of Buckingham had been exerted in his behalf, and his letter of thanks to that nobleman is truly eloquent and beautiful. Anxious to secure the "golden opinions" of the profession, the new lord chancellor invited the judges to a dinner, and requested that, since it was not his intention to extend the power of the court of chancery beyond its ordinary limits, they would inform him if ever they were dissatisfied with his proceedings, in order to a mutual and satisfactory adjustment of matters. He introduced some reforms into his court. He caused two reporters to be appointed, with a salary of

100*l.* each, and made some judicious arrangements in regard to hearing counsel and cases. On the 19th of November, 1619, he got the farming of the Alienation office. Next year he was made Viscount St. Alban's. In the beginning of 1620 he kept his birth-day with great state. Ben Jonson, the poet, celebrated his virtues, according to the fashion of the day, in some lines which are part of a masque performed on the occasion. Bacon chose this favourable moment for the publication of his 'Organon.' We have seen that it was the chief concern of his early thoughts and of his matured mind. In the midst of a rising career of professional, political, and literary effort, Bacon was moulding and shaping his great work, listening with an anxious ear to the remarks of the learned of his times, and at the height and maturity of his genius, when possessing all the highest honours which talent and learning could give him in his native land, we find this "servant of posterity" committing to its slow but infallible tribunal a work which, in reference to science, has been universally pronounced—the judgment of reason and experience in this rare instance confirming the boastings of youth—the *greatest birth of time*. This work was the gradual formation of a creating spirit. It was wrought up and polished with the sedulous industry of an artist who labours for posterity. Like the 'Analogy' of Butler, and all the greater productions of thought, the 'Organon' of Bacon was the result of painstaking labour spread through many years. Besides the 'Partus Temporis Maximus,' the 'Cogitata et Visa,' and the 'Filum Labyrinthi,' works which were outlines and model-figures prepared at distant and different stages of this long-studied production, Bacon copied his work twelve times, revising, correcting, and altering it year by year before it was reduced to that form in which it was committed to the press.

The reception of the work was such as, in the nature of things, must always be given to a production of its class—mingled ridicule and admiration. The geniuses laughed at it, and men of talent and acquirement, whose studies had narrowed their minds into particular channels,

incapable of understanding its reasonings and appreciating its originality, turned wits for the purpose of ridiculing the new publication of the philosophic lord chancellor. Dr. Andrews, a forgotten wit of those days, perpetrated a vile pun upon the town and title of St. Alban's by saying, in some doggerel verses, that it was on the high road to *Dunce table*, i. e., Dunstable, and therefore appropriate to the author of such a book. Mr. Secretary Cuffe said that it was a book which a fool could not have written, and a wise man would not. The pedantic king described it as like the peace of God,—it passeth all understanding. Bacon presented a copy to Sir Edward Coke.

Under a device, on the title-page, of a ship passing through the pillars of Hercules, Coke wrote in a clumsy attempt to wit—

It deserveth not to be read in schools,
But to be freighted in the ship of fools.

He was understood by some. Ben Jonson, after the author's death, described the book in terms of the highest praise. "Though by the most of superficial men who cannot get beyond the title of *nominals*, it is not penetrated nor understood, it really openeth all defects of learning whatsoever. My conceit of his person was never increased towards him by his place or honours. But I have and do reverence him for the greatness that was only proper in himself, and in that he seemed to me ever by his work one of the greatest men and most worthy of admiration that had been in many ages."

After this the name of Bacon becomes tarnished with infamy. The ordinary apologies for his conduct, the rapacity of his servants, and his connexion with Buckingham, fail entirely in washing out the foul blot fixed upon him by the facts of his conduct. He was the victim of improvidence, a vice which gave him a perpetual craving for money to supply the wants which it created. A desire of this kind, kept alive by the constant necessities which it caused to press upon him, undermined those honourable and honest principles in regard to pecuniary matters without which no man was ever either upright or

respectable. Various writers have glozed over the disgraceful truths which belong to this period of an extraordinary life, and have thus deprived the world of the warning and instruction which they afford. The facts are almost too painful for minute statement; they increased in number and disgracefulness as the inquiry proceeded, and the two complaints and accusations which first occupied attention multiplied to upwards of twenty-four before the end of the proceedings. Shortly after his elevation to the woolsack, one Wrenham, against whom he had decided a case in chancery, complained to the king, and though, when inquired into, the circumstances turned out in Bacon's favour, the industry and pertinacity of this individual excited suspicions in several quarters of the integrity of the chancellor. The House of Commons appointed a committee to inquire into the proceedings of the courts of law. On the 15th of March, 1620, Sir Robert Phillips reported, in a manner full of delicacy and respect to the high station and illustrious talents of Bacon, that two charges of corruption had been brought against the lord chancellor. The cases were sifted immediately. Eager to ascertain the exact particulars, to elicit the just amount and kind of blame attached to a personage so elevated, the committee sat every day on the case, and made daily reports to the house on the evidence brought before them. In the discussions on these facts, though there were not wanting apologists and defenders of the conduct of this corrupt judge, the moral indignation of many of the members was expressed in terms of the strongest reprobation. The first case was of a poor gentleman of the name of Aubrey, who finding his suit in chancery going on with a ruinous slowness, was advised to quicken it by a gift to the lord chancellor. In his anxiety and distress he borrowed a hundred pounds from a usurer; Lord Bacon received the money. Sir George Hastings and Mr. Jenkins took the bribe in to the Lord Chancellor at his lodgings in Gray's Inn, and on coming out again assured the poor and anxious suitor in his lordship's name of thankfulness and success. The case was decided against him. When the chancellor

heard of the complaints of his victim, he sent for his friend Sir George Hastings, and entreated him, with many professions of affection and esteem, to stay the clamour of the poor man whom he had cheated. The evidence in the next case varied the form and deepened the colours of the lord chancellor's guilt. Mr. Egerton had several suits pending in chancery against Sir Rowland Egerton, and, under the name of an expression of gratitude for past services, he presented the chancellor with 300*l*. The case went in his favour, until the opposite and losing party expressed his gratitude also to the judge in the shape of 400*l*., when the superiority of four over three turned the scales of equity against him. On one of these occasions, when the decision was drawn out though not delivered, the influence of a well-bestowed bribe induced the chancellor to reverse his decree. The Lady Wharton, hearing that her suit was likely to go against her, was too clever and high-spirited a woman to be defeated without a struggle. She wrought a purse with her own hands, and having filled it with 100*l*., waited upon Bacon at his apartments, and begged his acceptance of a purse of her own making. The chancellor was of course too gallant a gentleman "to refuse anything from the hands of so fair a lady." She gained her cause.

The discussion in the Commons issued in referring the whole of the case to the Peers, the only authority competent to subject him to trial. The king told a deputation of the Commons to proceed fearlessly whatever might be the consequences, and whoever might be implicated; but he felt exceedingly for the chancellor, received him with undiminished affection, and caused a short recess of Parliament to give him time for his defence. The spirit of Bacon was crushed within him. His servants were undoubtedly the agents who sought out the victims of his corruption; and it is equally undoubted that their master was himself ruined by the rapacity and extravagance in which he permitted them to indulge. During the investigation of the charges, when Bacon one day entered his house, and his costly menials rose up and saluted him, he said bitterly, "Sit down, my masters, your rise has been my fall." He was great even in

such circumstances, and the native dignity of his mind shone out even through the disgrace in which he had clothed himself. There is something inexpressibly touching in the contrition which he expressed in the general confession which he first sent to the lords appointed to try him. This, however, did not satisfy the indignation of his judges. They demanded a particular confession of each charge by itself, a specification of the minute details of his meanness and guilt. This Lord Bacon sent, and when a deputation of the lords waited upon him to inquire if this paper was his own voluntary act, he replied "It is my act—my hand—my heart. O, my lords, spare a broken reed." He was stripped of his offices, disqualified for public life, banished beyond the precincts of the court, subjected to a fine of 40,000*l.*, and to imprisonment in the Tower during the king's pleasure.

He was confined for a short time in the Tower, and then discharged. In the course of a few months he obtained a licence to come for a time within the verge of the court. And though this sentence was afterwards commuted by the king, his ruined fortunes were never repaired, and we have seldom felt the degradation into which Bacon had sunk himself so painfully as when reading the words of his pardon for all the frauds, deceits, impostures, bribes, corruptions, and other mal-practices of which he had been found guilty. He was summoned to attend parliament before he died; but the remainder of his days were spent chiefly in scientific pursuits, and the society of the friends whom adversity had left him. His name being high abroad, when the Marquis d'Effrat brought into England the princess Henrietta Maria, the wife of Charles I., he paid a visit to Bacon, and was received by his lordship, who was lying sick in bed, with the curtains drawn. "You resemble the angels (said that minister to him); we hear those beings continually talked of, we believe them superior to mankind, and we never have the consolation to see them." His lordship replied, "that if the charity of others compared him to an angel, his own infirmities told him he was a man." Bacon's works on natural history,

his *History of Henry VII.*, and some others, were published after his disgrace. Various accounts have been given of the immediate cause of his death. Some have attributed it to the bursting of a retort; others to an experiment on snow, which gave him a mortal chill. His last letter was written to the Earl of Arundel, in whose house at Highgate he expired on the 9th of April, 1626, in his sixty-sixth year. In this letter he calls himself the "martyr of science," and compares himself to Pliny the elder, whose death was caused by his over-zealous observation of Vesuvius. In his will, he says, "My name and memory I leave to foreign nations, and to my own countrymen, after some time be passed over." Lord Bacon left no children.

The accomplishments of Lord Bacon were unrivalled in his day, and his character displayed the phenomenon of great originality combined with a most extensive range of acquirements. He was a poet and an orator, a lawyer and a statesman. In the philosophy of experiment and of observation he was pre-eminent. The metaphysical and the physical were both congenial to his genius; and although the taint of his immorality has induced many to doubt the extent and to depreciate the excellence of his knowledge and ability in every department, except his method of studying nature, an impartial and searching examination will fill us with admiration as we successively trace his steps in almost every branch of intellectual exertion.

The observations and experiments of Bacon in physical science, viewed beside the results obtained by his immediate successors, do not appear to great advantage: nor can we compare them at all with the brilliant discoveries of his contemporary Galileo. It is only when viewed with reference to the *general* state of knowledge in his own times, that Bacon's recorded experiments and observations can be fairly estimated. His merits indeed would have been greater than those of any experimental philosopher, were his discoveries at all equal to the method of studying science which he taught.

In the first part of his great work on the 'Instauration

of the Sciences,' Bacon proposed to make a survey of knowledge as it then existed, which was a necessary preliminary to the reform which he contemplated. In this work he has made a distribution of all knowledge under the three heads of Memory, Imagination, and Reason. This division has been occasionally adopted by subsequent writers, though it does not appear to have the recommendation either of exactness or utility. The 'Novum Organum,' which is divided into two books, is the second part of the 'Instauration.' In the first book of the 'Organum' Bacon attempted to point out the states of mind which caused the existence of a false and fruitless philosophy. He saw causes of error in our common nature—in the peculiarities which mark the individual—in the mental use of the symbols of thought, and in those sectarian and party habits which the processes of association interweave with all the elements of the character, and harden into the schools and creeds which exert a despotic sway over successive generations. The influence of these mental states upon the interpreters of nature, Bacon called the worship of an idol: and the states themselves, in his fanciful nomenclature, are idols of different kinds: those which proceed from principles common to the species are *idols of the tribe*; those produced by the peculiar character of the individual are *idols of the den*; the commerce or intercourse of society by the use of words causes the worship of the *idols of the forum*; and the *idols of the theatre* are the creatures of the imaginary and visionary systems of philosophy which have appeared. Some causes of error are universal; the undue love of simplicity, and the spirit of system, are illusions influencing every mind, and therefore perpetually opposing the advancement of real knowledge. Other causes of error are peculiar. Some are disposed to mark the differences and others the resemblances of things, and the peculiar studies of a single mind are apt to warp its views in other regions of thought. Words influence thoughts, and the subtlety of the processes of the mind in using them is a source of error affecting the operations of the intellect and the communication of its

results. The perverse influence of systems is obvious ; it is illustrated fully by the history of philosophy. The undue reverence for antiquity, the authority of names, the pursuit of unattainable objects, the examination only of the rare, the extraordinary, and the great, together with superstition, which Bacon does not forget to enumerate, had long opposed the progress of all true knowledge.

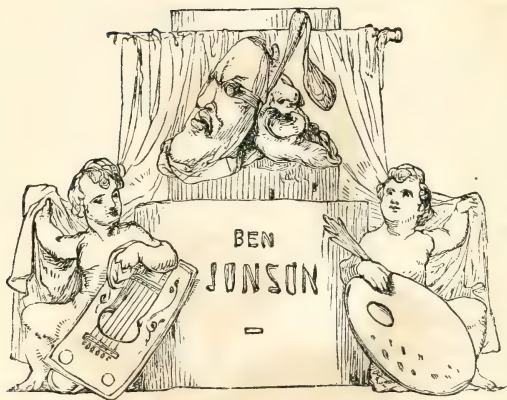
In the first part of the ‘*Organum*,’ the true object of science is clearly pointed out by Bacon : “It is impossible,” he says, “to advance with any profit in the race, when the point to be attained is not distinctly determined. In science, the true end is to enrich human life with new discoveries and wealth.” (‘*Organum*,’ lib. i. aphorism 81.) In the second book Bacon proceeds to explain the method of studying nature which he proposed for the advancement of science.

The first thing is to prepare a history of the phenomena to be explained, in all their modifications and varieties, written with the utmost caution and care in regard to the correctness of the language employed, and the evidence of the facts which we narrate. Having brought together the facts, we must begin by considering what things they exclude from the number of possible causes, or *forms*, as they are called in the language of Bacon. Negative instances in which the supposed *form* is wanting ought to be collected. “It may perhaps (says Bacon) be competent to angels or superior intelligences to determine the form or essence directly by affirmations from the first consideration of the subject. But it is certainly beyond the power of man, to whom it is only given at first to proceed by negatives, and in the last place, to end in an *affirmation* after the exclusion of everything else.”

The observations and experiments of the natural philosopher—the facts which he is to record in his inductive history—are witnesses whose evidence, and the weight due to whose testimonies, vary in the same way as the evidences which form the grounds of moral investigations. The facts, or *instances*, as Bacon calls them, vary in

clearness, in authenticity, applicability, &c. Bacon enumerates twenty-seven different kinds of *instances*, and estimates the weight due to each from the peculiar circumstances which constitute their value or worthlessness as means of discovery and aids to investigation; but it is impossible in this outline to enter into a description of their nature and importance. Of these twenty-seven instances fifteen are enumerated to assist the understanding in estimating the value, and forming a right judgment, of different facts; five correct the fallacies of the senses and instruct them in their observations; and the remaining seven direct the hands "in raising the superstructure of art on the foundation of science." This last division includes the use of instruments in aiding the senses, in subjecting objects to alteration for the purpose of observing them better, and in the production of that alliance of knowledge and power which has, in our day, crowded every part of civilized life with the most useful inventions.

Such were the principles which Bacon shaped into rules for the conduct of experimental inquiries, when he was almost without an example of success to confirm his confidence and encourage his efforts. In the words of Professor Playfair, "the power and compass of the mind which could form such a plan beforehand, and trace not merely the outline, but many of the most minute ramifications of sciences which did not yet exist, must be an object of admiration to all succeeding ages."



THIS eminent dramatist was born at Westminster, in 1574. "His mother, after his father's death, married a bricklayer, and it is generally said that he wrought some time with his father-in-law, and particularly on the garden-wall of Lincoln's Inn, next to Chancery Lane." This is Aubrey's account; and there can be no doubt of the fact of Jonson's early occupation. But the young bricklayer had been building up something better than the garden wall of Lincoln's Inn. He had raised for himself an edifice of sound scholarship, as a boy of Westminster; and whilst his mother and step-father, according to Fuller, "lived in Hartshorn Lane near Charing Cross," he was studying under the great Camden, then a junior master of that celebrated school. The good old author of the 'Worthies' thus continues:—"He was statutably admitted into Saint John's College in Cambridge (as many years after incorporated a honorary member of Christ Church in Oxford), where



JOHN B. B. B. B. B.

he continued but few weeks for want of further maintenance, being fain to return to the trade of his father-in-law. And let not them blush that have, but those that have not, a lawful calling. He helped in the building of the new structure of Lincoln's Inn, when, having a trowel in his hand, he had a book in his pocket."

Aubrey tells the story of his going to college, with a little more romance. He had not only the book in his pocket, but he was heard to repeat "Greek verses out of Homer;" and a bencher, discoursing with him, gave him an exhibition at Trinity College. Jonson's name does not appear in any of the Cambridge registers; and he probably remained at the University a very short time. Aubrey continues, "Then he went into the Low Countries, and spent some time (not very long) in the army, not to the disgrace of it, as you may find in his epigrams." The little poem to which Aubrey alludes is an address 'To True Soldiers:—

"I swear by your true friend, my muse, I love
Your great profession, which I once did prove;
And did not shame it with my actions then."

In Jonson's 'Conversation with Drummond of Hawthornden' he is made to tell that "In his service in the Low Countries he had, in the face of both the camps, killed one enemy and taken *opima spolia* from him." There is little doubt that his feats of arms were performed before he was twenty. In 1597 we find him in London, a player and a writer for the stage. Philip Henslow, one of the theatrical managers in that prosperous time of theatres, records in his diary of July, 1597, a loan of four pounds to Benjamin Jonson, player; and on the 3rd of December of the same year he also advances him twenty shillings "upon a book which he was to write for us before Christmas next." At this time he had written 'Every Man in his Humour,' for Henslow's theatre; not, however, in its present state, but with its scene laid in Italy. In the 'Life of Alleyn,' recently published by Mr. Collier, there is a letter from Henslow to Alleyn, for the first time printed,

which contains the following very curious passage:—
“Since you were with me I have lost one of my company, which hurteth me greatly—that is Gabrell, for he is slain in Hogsden Fields by the hands of Benjamin Jonson, bricklayer.” This letter is dated in September, 1598. The use of the term “bricklayer,” to designate Jonson’s calling, is most remarkable. Either Henslow was ignorant (which appears very improbable) that the man who slew “Gabrell” was one of his own authors; or Jonson, with that manly independence which we cannot enough admire in his character, followed his step-father’s laborious occupation even at the time when he was struggling to attain the honours of a poet. That he unhappily killed a man in a duel there can be no doubt; he himself told the story to Drummond. “Since his coming to England, being appealed to the fields, he had killed his adversary, which hurt him in the arm, and whose sword was ten inches longer than his; for the which he was imprisoned and almost at the gallows.” Gifford supposes that this unfortunate event happened in 1595; but if there be no error as to the date of Henslow’s letter, “Benjamin Jonson, bricklayer,” was a poet of no mean reputation at the time of this event. His enemies never forgot that he had wielded the trowel. Dekker calls him the “lime-and-mortar poet.” Jonson had precisely the mind to prefer the honest labour of his hands to the fearful shifts and hateful duplicities to which the unhappy man of genius was in those days too often degraded.

Thus, then, about four years before the death of Elizabeth, there was a dramatic writer in London who, though scarcely twenty-five years of age, had studied society under many aspects. He was a scholar, bred up by the most eminent teachers, amongst aristocratic companions; but his home was that of poverty and obscurity, and he had to labour with his hands for his daily bread. He delighted in walking not only amidst the open fields of ancient poetry and eloquence, but in all the by-places of antiquity, gathering flowers amongst the weeds with infinite toil: but he possessed no

merely contemplative spirit: he had high courage and ardent passions, and whether with the sword or the pen he was a dangerous antagonist. This humbly-born man, with the badge of the "hod and trowel" fixed on him by his enemies—twitted with ambling "by a play-waggon in the highway"—with a face held up to ridicule as being "like a rotten russet apple when it is bruised," or "punched full of eylet-holes, like the cover of a warming-pan"—described by himself as remarkable for

"His mountain belly and his rocky face"—

with "one eye lower than t' other and bigger," as Aubrey has it—and, according to the same authority, "wont to wear a coat like a coachman's coat, with slits under the arm-pits;"—this uncouth being was for a quarter of a century the favourite poet of the court,—one that wrote masques not only for two kings to witness, but for one to perform in,—the founder and chief ornament of clubs where the greatest of his age for wit, and learning, and rank, gathered round him as a common centre; but, above all, he was the rigid moralist, who spared no vice, who was fearless in his denunciation of public or private profligacy, who crouched not to power or riches, but who stood up in the worst of days a real man. Aubrey, one of the shrewdest as well as the most credulous of biographers, has a very sensible remark upon the characteristics of Shakspeare's comedy, as compared with the writers after the Restoration. "His comedies will remain wit as long as the English tongue is understood, for that he handles *mores hominum*; now, our present writers reflect so much upon particular persons and coxcombeities, that twenty years hence they will not be understood." This is precisely the case with Jonson as compared with Shakspeare; but he is on this account a far more valuable authority for what essentially belong to periods and classes. Shakspeare has purposely left this field uncultivated; but it is Jonson's absolute domain. Studied with care, as he must be to be properly appreciated, he presents to us an almost

inexhaustible series of *Daguerreotypes*,—forms copied from the life with absolute certainty of the manners of three reigns,—when there was freedom enough for men to abandon themselves without disguise to what they called their *humours*, and the conflicts of opinion had not yet become so violent as to preclude the public satirist from attacking sects and parties. There is a peculiar interest, too, about Jonson and his writings, if we regard him as the representative of the literary class of his own day. In his hands the stage was to teach what the Essayists of a century afterwards were to teach. The age was to be exhibited; its vices denounced; its follies laughed at.

The influence of men of letters even upon their own age is always great; it is sometimes all-powerful. In Jonson's time the pulpit and the stage were the teachers and inciters; and the stage, taken altogether, was an engine of great power, either for good or evil. In the hands of Shakspeare and Jonson it is impossible to over-estimate the good which it produced. The one carried men into the highest region of lofty poetry (and the loftier because it was comprehensible by all), out of the narrow range of their own petty passions and low gratifications; the other boldly lashed the follies of individuals and classes, sometimes with imprudence, but always with honesty. If others ministered to the low tastes and the intolerant prejudices of the multitude, Jonson was ever ready to launch a bolt at them, fearless of the consequences. No man ever laboured harder to uphold the dignity of letters, and of that particular branch in which his labour was embarked. He was ardent in all he did; and of course he had many enemies. But his friendship was as warm as his enmity. No man had more friends or more illustrious. He was the father of many sons, to use the affectionate phrase which indicated the relation between the illustrious writer and his disciples. Jonson was always poor, often embarrassed; but his proper intellectual ascendancy over many minds was never doubted. Something of this ascendancy may be attributed to his social habits.

In the year 1599, when Henslow, according to his records, was lending Benjamin Jonson twenty shillings, and thirty shillings, and other small sums, in earnest of this play and that—sometimes advanced to himself alone, oftener for works in which he was joined with others—he was speaking in his own person to the audiences of the time with a pride which prosperity could not increase or adversity subdue. In ‘Every Man out of his Humour,’ first acted in 1599, he thus delivers himself in the character of “Asper, the Presenter:”—

“If any here chance to behold himself,
Let him not dare to challenge me of wrong;
For if he shame to have his follies known,
First he should shame to act ’em: my strict hand
Was made to seize on vice, and with a gripe
Squeeze out the humour of such spongy souls
As lick up every idle vanity.”

The spirit which dictated these lines was not likely to remain free from literary quarrels. Jonson was attacked in turn, or fancied he was attacked. In 1601 he produced ‘The Poetaster;’ and in his ‘Apologetical Dialogue which was only once spoken upon the stage,’ he thus defends his motives for this supposed attack upon some of his dramatic brethren:—

“Sure I am, three years
They did provoke me with their petulant styles
On every stage: and I at last, unwilling,
But weary, I confess, of so much trouble,
Thought I would try if shame could win upon em,
And therefore chose Augustus Cæsar’s times,
When wit and arts were at their height in Rome,
To show that Virgil, Horace, and the rest
Of those great master-spirits, did not want
Detractors then, or practisers against them:
And by this line, although no parallel,
I hop’d at last they would sit down and blush;
But nothing I could find more contrary.
And though the impudence of flies be great,
Yet this hath so provok’d the angry wasps,

Or, as you said, of the next nest, the hornets,
That they fly buzzing, mad, about my nostrils,
And, like so many screaming grasshoppers
Held by the wings, fill every ear with noise."

Every one has heard of the wit-combats between Shakspeare and Ben Jonson, described by Fuller:—"Many were the wit-combats betwixt him and Ben Jonson; which two I behold like a *Spanish great gal-leon* and an *English man-of-war*: Master Jonson (like the former) was built far higher in learning; *solid*, but *slow* in his performances. Shakspeare, with the *English man-of-war*, lesser in *bulk* but lighter in *sailing*, could turn with all tides, tack about, and take advantage of all winds, by the quickness of his wit and invention." When Fuller says "I behold," he meant with his "mind's eye;" for he was only eight years of age when Shakspeare died—a circumstance which appears to have been forgotten by some who have written of these matters. But we have a noble record left of the wit-combats in the celebrated epistle of Beaumont to Jonson:—

"Methinks the little wit I had is lost
Since I saw you; for wit is like a rest
Held up at tennis, which men do the best
With the best gamesters: what things have we seen
Done at the Mermaid! heard words that have been
So nimble, and so full of subtile flame,
As if that every one from whence they came
Had meant to put his whole wit in a jest,
And had resolv'd to live a fool the rest
Of his dull life: then when there hath been thrown
Wit able enough to justify the town
For three days past—wit that might warrant be
For the whole city to talk foolishly
'Till that were cancell'd: and when that was gone
We left an air behind us, which alone
Was able to make the two next companies
Right witty; though but downright fools, mere wise."

Gifford has thus described the club at the Mermaid:
"About this time (1603) Jonson probably began to

acquire that turn for conviviality for which he was afterwards noted. Sir Walter Raleigh, previously to his unfortunate engagement with the wretched Cobham and others, had instituted a meeting of *beaux esprits*, at the Mermaid, a celebrated tavern in Friday Street. Of this club, which combined more talent and genius than ever met together before or since, our author was a member; and here for many years he regularly repaired with Shakspeare, Beaumont, Fletcher, Selden, Cotton, Carew, Martin, Donne, and many others, whose names even at this distant period call up a mingled feeling of reverence and respect." Jonson has been accused of excess in wine; and certainly temperance was not the virtue of his age. Drummond, who puts down his conversations in a spirit of detraction, says, "Drink was the element in which he lived." Aubrey tells us "he would many times exceed in drink; Canary was his beloved liquor." And so he tells us himself in his graceful poem 'Inviting a Friend to Supper:—

"But that which most doth take my muse and me
Is a pure cup of rich Canary wine,
Which is the Mermaid's now, but shall be mine."

But the rich Canary was to be used, and not abused:—

"Of this we will sup free, but moderately;
Nor shall our cups make any guilty men:
But at our parting we will be as when
We innocently met. No simple word
That shall be utter'd at our mirthful board
Shall make us sad next morning, or affright
The liberty that we 'll enjoy to-night."

This is not the *principle* of intemperance, at any rate; nor were the associates of Jonson at the Mermaid such as mere sensual gratification would have allied in that band of friendship. Jonson and Shakspeare passed through the slough of the theatre without a stain. Their club meetings were not the feasts of the senses alone.

One of Jonson's contemporary dramatists, Marmion, describes him in his presidential chair:—

“ The boon Delphic god
Drinks sack, and keeps his Bacchanalia,
And has his incense, and his altars smoking,
And speaks in sparkling prophecies.”

Soon after the accession of James, Jonson went to prison for a supposed libel against the Scots, in ‘ Eastward Ho; ’ in the composition of which comedy he assisted Chapman and Marston. They were soon pardoned: but it was previously reported that their ears and noses were to be slit. Jonson’s mother, at an entertainment which he made on his liberation, “ drank to him and showed him a paper which she designed, if the sentence had taken effect, to have mixed with his drink, —and it was strong and hasty poison.” Jonson, who tells this story himself, says, “ to show that she was no churl, she designed to have first drank of it herself.” This is a terrible illustration of the ways of despotism. Jonson was pardoned, probably through some favouritism. Had it been otherwise, the future laureate of James would have died by poison in a wretched prison, and that poison given by his mother. Did the bricklayer’s wife learn this terrible stoicism from her classical son? Fortunately there was in the world at that day, as there is now, a higher spirit to make calamity endurable than that of mere philosophy; and Jonson learnt this in sickness and old age. But he was to see days which the world called prosperous. From 1606 to 1633 Jonson lived in the sun of royal favour, and continued to produce masques at Court. The Court and the nobility went on masquing wherever the king abode. ‘ Pan’s Anniversary ’ was the last entertainment which Jonson offered to his old master. James, in 1621, would have forced the honour of knighthood upon his poet; but Jonson’s good sense contrived to avoid it.

The literary life of Ben Jonson extended over nearly forty years: upon the whole, it was a successful literary life. He did not, like Shakspeare, realize a competency by adding the business of a theatrical manager to the pleasanter labours of a poet. His plays, no doubt, pro-

duced him money; but his occasional productions for the court and the city made him wealthier than most of his brethren. Aubrey tells us of his habitations:—“ Long since, in King James’s time, I have heard my uncle Danvers say (who knew him) that he lived without Temple Bar, at a comb-maker’s shop, about the Elephant and Castle. In his later time he lived in Westminster, in the house under which you pass as you go out of the churchyard into the old palace, where he died.” He had a library so stored with rare and curious books that Selden could find there volumes which he vainly sought in other places. He appears at this time to have lived a life of learned ease, enjoying stipends from the crown and from the city. From 1616 to 1625 he wrote no plays. After the death of James want probably drove him again to the stage. His later dramas are not to be compared with ‘The Alchymist’ and ‘The Fox.’ Disease and penury had come upon him. In the epilogue to ‘The New Inn,’ produced in 1630, he says,—

“ If you expect more than you had to-night,
The maker is sick and sad.”

In the same epilogue he has a touching allusion to the king and queen; and Charles instantly sent him an hundred pounds. The play itself was hooted from the boards; and Jonson took his revenge upon the town in his well-known ode:—

“ Come, leave the loathed stage,
And the more loathsome age!
Where pride and impudence, in faction knit,
Usurp the chair of wit!
Indicting and arraigning every day
Something they call a play.
Let their fastidious, vain
Commission of the brain
Burn on and rage, sweat, censure, and condemn;
They were not made for thee, less thou for them.

* * * * *

Leave things so prostitute,
And take the Alcaic lute;

Or thine own Horace, or Anacreon's lyre;
Warm thee by Pindar's fire :
And though thy nerves be shrunk and blood be cold,
Ere years have made thee old,
Strike that disdainful heat
Throughout, to their defeat,
As curious fools, and envious of thy strain,
May, blushing, swear no palsy 's in thy brain."

Supported by an increased pension, to which Charles added the " tierce of Canary," which the poets-laureate have ever since enjoyed, Jonson continued to write masques and other little poems for the court. His quarrel with Inigo Jones, from whatever cause proceeding, is a painful circumstance; and it is well that the satire which he wrote upon the illustrious architect is suppressed. He died in 1637, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. Aubrey says, " He lies buried in the north aisle, in the path of square stone (the rest is lozenge), opposite to the scutcheon of Robertus de Bos, with this inscription only on him, in a pavement square, blue marble, about 14 inches square—' O RARE BEN JONSON ! '—which was done at the charge of Jack Young (afterwards knighted), who, walking there when the grave was covering, gave the fellow eighteen-pence to cut it."

THE END OF VOL. V

THE
CABINET PORTRAIT GALLERY
OF
BRITISH WORTHIES

VOLUME VI.

LONDON:
CHARLES KNIGHT & CO., LUDGATE STREET.

1845.

CONTENTS.



	Page
CHARLES I.	5
STRAFFORD	27
JOHN HAMPDEN	38
ARCHBISHOP LAUD	50
JOHN SELDEN	70
ROBERT BLAKE	81





CABINET PORTRAIT GALLERY

OF

BRITISH WORTHIES.



THE reign of Charles the First stands out by itself from all the other English reigns since the beginning of the monarchy. We have had civil wars in other reigns; but only in this a civil war of principles. Opposite principles have struggled for the ascendancy in other reigns, but only in this with the sword. Here is the only decided turning-point, or hinge, as we may call it, in the progressive movement of the constitution; the changes it has undergone at all other times have been made gradually, and as it were by a bending process; at this crisis it was forced, as if by a fracture, to develop

itself in altogether a new direction. The twenty years, indeed, from 1640 to 1660, do make such a disruption as occurs nowhere else in our history: they lie like a gulf beyond which everything is old; on this side of which everything is comparatively new or modern. Our original political system closes with the reign of Charles I.; that system was then seen for the last time in its integrity. It never was rebuilt from the ruin that then overtook it. For it is a great mistake to suppose that even the Restoration was a restoration of the spirit and actuating principle of that old system—that even the misgovernment of the twenty-eight years which preceded the Revolution was at all a thing of the same nature with the monarchism which prevailed before the meeting of the Long Parliament. Only think of a House of Commons debating the exclusion of the next heir to the throne under either Elizabeth or James I.! The truth is, that down to the civil war the prerogative was, in the theory of the constitution, above the law. It is not possible to deny it. There was nothing short of the destruction of life (if even that was an exception) that might not have been constitutionally done by the crown of its own authority. The liberty of the subject was entirely at the mercy of the crown; any man might at any time be apprehended and thrown into prison by the government, and detained there without being brought to trial, for as long as it chose. Men's property was scarcely better protected from rights of purveyance, claims of wardship, and other arbitrary exactions; if it was even held, which it scarcely was, that the crown had no right of levying taxes in any circumstances by its own authority. But upon that question we might refer to the decision of the judges in the case of ship-money, and the arguments upon which it was founded. Then, for security of person, any man might be charged with a state crime, and in the absence of all evidence might thereupon be put to the rack. Torture, indeed, was illegal, or contrary to law; but it was according to prerogative, and it was in constant use, because the prerogative, as we have said, was above the law. All this

ended with the reign of Charles I. He was our last prerogative, or, in plain words, theoretically absolute, king.

He was the third son of the first of the Stewart kings of England, James I., and of his wife Anne, daughter of Frederic II., king of Denmark, whom James married in her sixteenth year, in 1589: he himself being then twenty-three. Charles's two elder brothers were Henry (or Henry Frederic), who was born in 1594, and died in 1612; and Robert, of whom the genealogists only tell us that he died in infancy before his father succeeded to the English crown. Charles was born at Dunfermline, in Fife, on the 19th of November, 1600. Of four daughters born to James and Anne, two were also older than Charles: Elizabeth, who was born in 1596, and became the Electress Palatine and nominal Queen of Bohemia; and Margaret, who was born in 1598, and died young. The others, the only children whom James had after he came to England, were, Mary, who was born in 1605, and died in 1607; and Sophia, who was born in 1606, and only lived two days. Charles, therefore, was the youngest of the family who grew up, and, after the death of his brother Henry, he and his sister Elizabeth, four years older than himself, were all that remained to James of his seven children.

Spotswood says that "his christening was hastened because of the weakness of the child, and that his death was much feared;" and, as no authentic account makes mention of any bishop or even episcopally ordained clergyman who officiated on the occasion, it has been questioned whether he was really admitted with the usual ceremonies into that church of which he is the only authoritatively recognised saint and martyr. Be this as it may, when the family came to England, "Baby Charles," by which designation and no other his father spoke and wrote to him and of him to the end of his life, was committed to the care of the lady of Sir Robert Cary, he who, having taken horse on the instant, had brought James the first tidings of the death of Elizabeth, and who was created Baron Cary in 1622,

and Earl of Monmouth in 1626. On the 6th of January, 1604, the child was created Duke of York (the last person who bore that title having been Henry VIII. in the lifetime of his elder brother Arthur), and was at the same time made a Knight of the Bath. About two years after this, he was put to be educated into the hands of Mr. Thomas Murray, who in 1621 was appointed Provost of Eton College, and died in 1623, when his place was applied for by Bacon, recently deprived of his office of lord chancellor, but was given to Sir Henry Wotton. It is remarkable that this tutor of the future champion of the church was considered to be by no means a very sound Episcopalian. They tried to get him to take orders when he was made provost of Eton, as had been usual with persons holding that place; but he fought shy. This is stated in a letter to Buckingham by Bishop Williams, then lord keeper; and he adds in a postscript, "I schooled him soundly against Puritanism, which he disavows, though somewhat faintly." Charles is said to have proved an apt scholar. It is told that one day when a number of the nobility and bishops were assembled in the privy chamber, waiting for the king coming out, the Prince of Wales took Archbishop Abbot's cap and put it on his brother's head, saying, that if he was a good boy and minded his book, he would one day make him Archbishop of Canterbury. Here again we are reminded of Henry VIII., whose original destination is also said to have been the church. Of the two Charles would certainly have made the more suitable primate.

Charles became heir to the throne by the death of his elder brother, at an age very little later than Henry VIII., or before he had completed his twelfth year. But while Henry was created Prince of Wales almost immediately, it was not till about four years after, or on the 4th of November, 1616, that Charles was raised to that dignity. He succeeded to the Dukedom of Cornwall, however, on his brother's death.

We hear scarcely any thing more of him till he became king, except his famous scamper off to Spain with Buck-

ingham in 1623. George Villiers, a younger son of Sir Edward Villiers, of Brookesby, in Leicestershire, had purchased the office of cup-bearer, and had come to court as such in 1614. Early in the following year a plan was entered into, by the principal persons about the king, for setting up the new-comer, whose handsome person and elegant address had already excited the admiration of his majesty, as a rival to the favourite Somerset. The king parted with Somerset, with all his usual demonstrations of affection, on the 1st of August, 1615, and never saw him more. Meanwhile, on the previous 23rd of April, Villiers had been made a gentleman of the Privy Chamber, and on the following day had received the honour of knighthood. After Somerset's dismissal and ruin, Villiers rose rapidly to the height of greatness. In August, 1616, he was created Baron Whaddon and Viscount Villiers; in January, 1617, Earl of Buckingham; and Marquis of Buckingham in the beginning of the following year. Meanwhile he had been made a Privy Counsellor and a Knight of the Garter; and had been elevated to the office first of Master of the Horse, and subsequently to that of Lord High Admiral. In July, 1618, also, his mother had been created Countess of Buckingham for life. But his honours and offices, rapid as their accumulation had been, very faintly indicate his real power. Not only at court, but in every department of the government, and in the church as well as in the state, he was as nearly supreme as the royal favour could make him, at a time when the king could do almost any thing he chose. All offices and dignities were at his disposal; even causes at law were determined by the judges in all the courts this way or that at his order; men of all ranks were supplicants for his protection and patronage. Charles is said to have at first, naturally enough, disliked Buckingham, but James succeeded in making them friends. The affair of the Spanish match, as it was called, began much about the same time with Buckingham's career at court; and it was the chief public business that occupied James's attention during the next seven or eight years. He probably did not consider

any other public object to be of equal importance with that of procuring a daughter of one of the royal houses of the first rank to be a wife for his son. The negotiation for the hand of the Infanta Maria, sister of Philip IV., the reigning king of Spain, was still in a somewhat uncertain though promising state, when Charles and Buckingham set out, with James's consent, on their extraordinary expedition. They left London privately on the 18th of February, 1623, travelled through France in disguise, under the names of John and Thomas Smith, and arrived unannounced in the dusk of the evening of the 7th of March at the residence of the Earl of Bristol at Madrid. Abundant particulars of this adventure are detailed in Clarendon, in Howell's Letters, in the correspondence of the king with his son and Buckingham published in the Hardwicke State Papers, and in other books. It appears that the affair had been gone about with such characteristic imprudence, that their departure was blown abroad a few hours after they had left London; this we learn from a long letter written by James on the 26th of February, beginning, "My sweet boys, and adventurous knights, worthy to be put in a new romanso;" and concluding, "Your poor old Dad is lamer than ever he was, both of his right knee and foot, and writes all this out of his naked bed." "Dad," it is to be observed, is the reverential title by which Buckingham always addresses his majesty; whose name of endearment, on the other hand, for the favourite is Steenie, the Scotch diminutive of Stephen, suggested, it is supposed, by Buckingham's resemblance to the conventional representations of the young and handsome martyr. Their arrival at Madrid is thus related by Howell, who was there at the time:—"They alighted at my Lord of Bristol's house, and the Marquis (Mr. Thomas Smith) came in first with a portmanteau under his arm; then (Mr. John Smith) the prince was sent for, who staid a while on tother side of the street in the dark. My Lord of Bristol, in a kind of astonishment, brought him up to his bed-chamber, where he presently called for pen and ink, and dispatched a post that night to England, to ac-

quaint his majesty how in less than sixteen days he was come safely to the court of Spain ; that post went lightly laden, for he carried but three letters. The next day came Sir Francis Cottington and Mr. Porter, and dark rumours ran in every corner how some great man was come from England ; and some would not stick to say among the vulgar it was the king. But towards the evening on Saturday the marquis went in a close coach to court, where he had private audience of this king, who sent Olivarez to accompany him back to the prince, where he kneeled and kissed his hands and hugged his thighs, and delivered how unmeasurably glad his Catholic majesty was of his coming, with other high compliments, which Mr. Porter did interpret. About ten o'clock that night the king himself came in a close coach with intent to visit the prince, who, hearing of it, met him half-way ; and, after salutations and divers embraces, which passed in the first interview, they parted late. . . . On Sunday following the king in the afternoon came abroad to take the air, with the queen, his two brothers, and the Infanta, who were all in one coach ; but the Infanta sat in the boot, with a blue ribbon about her arm, of purpose that the prince might distinguish her ; there were above twenty coaches besides, of grandees, noblemen, and ladies, that attended them. And now it was publicly known among the vulgar that it was the Prince of Wales who was come ; and the confluence of people before my Lord of Bristol's house was so great and greedy to see the prince, that, to clear the way, Sir Lewis Dives went out and took coach, and all the crowd of people went after him. So the prince himself, a little while after, took coach, wherein there were the Earl of Bristol, Sir Walter Ashton, and Count Gondomar, and so went to the Prado, a place hard by, of purpose to take the air, where they staid till the king passed by. As soon as the Infanta saw the prince, her colour rose very high, which we hold to be an impression of love and affection ; for the face is oftentimes a true index of the heart." The possession of the prince, however, as ought to have been foreseen, raised the demands of the Spanish court ; and it was now

proposed that before the marriage took place the King of England should not only promise certain concessions to his Roman Catholic subjects, but make some sort of acknowledgment of the supremacy or special power of the Pope. In a letter written to his "sweet boys," on the 17th of March, James observes that it has ever been his way to go with the Church of Rome *usque ad aras*—literally, as far as the altar, the meaning perhaps being that what he principally stuck at was the dogma of transubstantiation. He then runs on in the following curious and characteristic strain:—"I send you also your robes of the order, which ye must not forget to wear upon St. George's day, and dine together in them, if they can come in time, which I pray God they may, for it will be a goodly sight for the Spaniards to see my two boys dine in them. I send you also the jewels, as I promised, some of mine, and such of yours, I mean both of you, as are worth the sending. For my Baby's presenting his mistress, I send him an old double cross of Lorrain, not so rich as ancient, and yet not contemptible for the value; a good looking-glass, with my picture in it, to be hung at her girdle, which ye must tell her ye have caused it so to be enchanted by art magic, as, whensoever she shall be pleased to look in it, she shall see the fairest lady that either her brother or your father's dominions can afford. Ye shall present her with two fair long diamonds set like an anchor, and a fair pendant diamond hanging at them; ye shall give her a goodly rope of pearls; ye shall give her a corguant or collar, thirteen great balls rubies, and thirteen knots or conques of pearls; and ye shall give her a head-dressing of two and twenty great pear pearls; and ye shall give her three goodly peak pendant diamonds, whereof the biggest to be worn at a needle in the midst of her forehead, and one in every ear. And for my Baby's own wearing, ye have two good jewels of your own, your round brooch of diamonds, and your triangle diamond with the great round pearl; and I send you for your wearing the three brethren, that ye know full well, but newly set; and the mirror of France, the fellow of the Portugal diamond, which I would wish you to wear alone

in your hat with a little black feather ; ye have also good diamond buttons of your own, to be set to a doublet or jerkin. . . . And now for the form of my Baby's presenting of his jewels to his mistress, I leave that to himself, with Steenie's advice and my lord of Bristol's ; only I would not have them presented all at once, but at the more sundry times the better, and I would have the rarest and richest kept hindmost." Meanwhile matters seemed to be going on as was to be desired in what ought to have been considered the main respect. Here is an extract from another letter of Howell's, addressed to Captain Thomas Porter, and dated the 10th of July :— " I have seen the prince have his eyes immoveably fixed upon the Infanta half an hour together in a thoughtful speculative posture, which sure would needs be tedious unless affection did sweeten it : it was no handsome comparison of Olivarez, that he watched her as a cat doth a mouse. Not long since, the prince, understanding that the Infanta was used to go some mornings to the Casa de Campo, a summer-house the king hath on t'other side the river, to gather May-dew, he rose betimes and went thither, taking your brother (Endymion Porter) with him. They were let into the house, and into the garden, but the Infanta was in the orchard ; and there being a high partition wall between, and the door doubly bolted, the prince got on the top of the wall, and sprung down a great height, and so made towards her. But she spying him first of all, the rest gave a shriek and ran back. The old marquis that was then her guardian came towards the prince and fell on his knees, conjuring his highness to retire, in regard he hazarded his head if he admitted any to her company. So the door was opened, and he came out under that wall over which he had got in." Howell adds that he has seen him watch a long hour together in a close coach in the open street to see the Infanta as she went abroad. Yet he cannot affirm that they have ever talked together in private ; and whenever they have conversed in public, not only his excellency, the English ambassador, has always necessarily been present as interpreter, but King Philip too has taken his seat hard by

and overheard everything. A most uncomfortable courtship. Among other attractions that the English Prince brought with him, or that were sent after him, was, it appears, the court fool or jester. "Our cousin Archy," says Howell, "hath more privilege than any, for he always goes with his fool's coat where the Infanta is with her meninas and ladies of honour, and keeps a blowing and blustering among them, and flurts out what he lists."

Jester and jewellery, however, romantic expedition and Romanistic concessions, all in the end availed nothing. The only person who seems to have acted throughout with steadiness and sincerity was the Earl of Bristol. James, much as his heart had long been set upon this Spanish match, had hardly given his consent to the project of the prince's journey when he repented, and in the absence of his son and the favourite he was like a child deprived of its playthings. His letters soon began to express the greatest impatience for their return. On the 11th of May he had been weak enough to send the prince, at the request of the latter, a warrant in the following terms:—"We do hereby promise, by the word of a king, that whatsoever you, our son, shall promise in our name, we shall punctually perform." "It were a strange trust," he writes in the accompanying letter to the prince and Buckingham (by this time elevated to the rank of a duke), "it were a strange trust that I would refuse to put upon my only son, and upon my best servant. I know such two ye are will never promise in my name but what may stand with my conscience, honour, and safety, and all these I do fully trust with any one of you two: my former letter will show you my conceit [conception of matters], and now I put the full power in your hands, with God's blessing on you both, praying him still, that, after a happy success there, ye may speedily and happily return, and light in the arms of your dear Dad." But even their success or failure speedily becomes a matter of no consequence, so that he may have them back. Writing again on the 14th of June he urges them, if they can by any means

contrive to get leave, to come away, in any case, and give over all treaty, at once. "And this," he adds, "I speak without respect of any security they can offer you, except ye never look to see your old Dad again, whom I fear ye shall never see, if you see him not before winter. Alas, I now repent me sore that ever I suffered you to go away. I care for match nor nothing, so I may once have you in my arms again; God grant it—God grant it—God grant it! Amen—amen—amen! I protest ye shall be as heartily welcome as if ye had done all things ye went for, so that I may once have you in my arms again; and God bless you both, my only sweet son, and my only best sweet servant, and let me hear from you quickly with all speed, as ye love my life. And so God send you a happy and joyful meeting in the arms of your dear Dad." Again, on the 5th of August, he writes, "I have no more to say, but if you hasten you not home, I apprehend I shall never see you, for my extreme longing will kill me." But it had already been determined by Buckingham that the affair should not go on. He and the Spanish prime minister or favourite, Olivarez, had quarrelled; and, instead of a matrimonial alliance, it had now become the desire of both to bring about a war between the two countries. It was arranged therefore that James should send a formal order commanding his son to return home, which he did on the 10th of August. On its arrival at Madrid, Charles immediately intimated his intention of obeying it, but proposed to leave full powers with the Earl of Bristol to have the marriage solemnized by proxy as soon as a dispensation should come from the new pope, for the death of Gregory XV. was held to render the one already obtained from him inoperative. After promising upon oath that Bristol should act upon the said powers within ten days after the dispensation should make its appearance, Charles parted from the Spanish king, on the 9th of September, with every profession of affectionate regard on both sides. The poor Infanta now assumed the title of Princess of England, and had a court formed for her as such. Nevertheless, soon after Charles and Buckingham got

home, express orders were sent to Bristol to proceed no further in the business ; and the enmity of Spain and the late solemn contract were equally set at defiance.

This first public transaction in which Charles figured was not calculated to strike the world with admiration of the openness and sincerity of his nature. Besides the part he acted in making his escape from Spain and from the match, it may be doubted if even his apparent attachment to Buckingham was more than a show and a pretence. Their characters were so dissimilar, or rather so opposite, that any real regard or sympathy between them seems impossible. Or, if Charles, with his outward decorum of life and professed principles of religion and virtue, did consort intimately with so reckless a libertine as Buckingham, he must have been a great dissembler. But what perhaps gives us the worst impression of him is his treatment of the lady. Notwithstanding all his elaborate ostentation of gallantry, it cannot be believed, looking to his hollow and heartless leave-taking, that he had ever cared for her. But he had assumed the character of a lover, and he thought that to sit for half an hour in a thoughtful speculative posture with his eyes fixed upon the object of his pretended passion, like a cat watching a mouse, was the way to perform such a part. We do not recollect that in his letters to his father he ever expresses any admiration of the Infanta. It is not improbable that he had already been captivated or at least prepossessed by the superior attractions of the French Princess, Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV., and sister of the reigning king, Louis XIII., whom, it is said, he and Buckingham had seen at a ball as they passed through Paris on their way to Spain. At all events, as soon as the Spanish Infanta had been shaken off, a negotiation was opened for the hand of this daughter of France ; and, after some difficulties and delays, the marriage was at last agreed upon, in November of the following year, 1624. The marriage was celebrated at Paris on the 1st of May, 1625, the Duke of Chevreuse acting as proxy for the bridegroom ; and the bride arrived in England on the 12th of June. Our epistolary

friend Howell, who saw her at her landing, describes her as "in true beauty beyond the long-wooded Infanta;" "for she," he proceeds, "was of a fading flaxen hair, big-lipped, and somewhat heavy-eyed; but this daughter of France, this youngest branch of Bourbon, is of a more lovely and lasting complexion, a dark brown. She hath eyes that sparkle like stars; and, for her physiognomy, she may be said to be a mirror of perfection." And Lord Kensington, who had been sent to negotiate the marriage, thus writes to the prince from Paris, on the 26th of February, 1625, in a letter which is preserved in the Cabala:—"You will find a lady of as much loveliness and sweetness to deserve your affection as any creature under heaven can do. And, Sir, by all her fashions since my being here, and by what I hear from the ladies, it is most visible to me, her infinite value and respect unto you. Sir, I say not this to betray your belief, but from a true observation and knowledge of this to be so. I tell you this, and must somewhat more in way of admiration of the person of Madame; for the impressions I had of her were but ordinary, but the amazement extraordinary to find her, as I protest to God I did, the sweetest creature in France. Her growth is very little short of her age, and her wisdom infinitely beyond it. I heard her discourse with her mother, and the ladies about her, with extraordinary discretion and quickness. She dances (the which I am a witness of) as well as ever I saw any creature. They say she sings most sweetly. I am sure she looks so." Even the austere Sir Symonds d'Ewes, when he saw her at dinner at Whitehall after her marriage, thought her "a most absolute delicate creature." "Besides," adds the strait-laced Puritan, "her deportment amongst her women was so sweet and humble, and her speech and looks to her other servants so mild and gracious, as I could not abstain from divers deep-fetched sighs, to consider that she wanted the knowledge of the true religion." Her eye in particular has been celebrated in Waller's verse, where it is said that it might

“ on Jove himself have thrown
As bright and fierce a lightning as his own.”

And in truth it was soon found that the lightning would sometimes become rather too fierce, and that the little woman could upon occasion put on a scowl worthy of Juno herself.

But before the actual celebration of his marriage, though after the affair had been finally arranged, Charles had lost his father. James died on the 27th of March, 1625; and Charles became king. Before presenting such a rapid summary as our limits will permit of the history of his reign, we will advert for a moment longer to those personal and domestic matters which come more properly within the scope of biography.

The union of Charles and his queen was by no means a harmonious one for some time at first. For this there would appear to have been two principal causes: on the one side, the influence of her French attendants, clergy, women, and others, with Henrietta; on the other, the equal ascendancy maintained over her husband by Buckingham. There are two letters in the Hardwicke State Papers, from Charles to Buckingham, then at Paris, both dated from Hampton Court on the same day, the 20th of November, 1625, less than six months after the queen's arrival in England, in the first of which he intimates his intention of cashiering or dismissing her mon-sieurs, on the ground of their attempting to steal away his wife (perhaps the meaning is, to steal away her affections), and of their making feuds with his own subjects; and in the second of which he says, “ You know what patience I have had with the unkind usages of my wife, grounded upon a belief that it was not in her nature, but made by ill instruments, and overcome by your persuasions to me that my kind usages would be able to rectify those misunderstandings. I hope my ground may be true, but I am sure you have erred in your opinion; for I find daily worse and worse effects of ill offices done between us, my kind usages having no power to mend anything. Now necessity urges me to vent myself to you in

this particular, for grief is eased being told to a friend ;” &c. But the most detailed account we have of his grievances, from the unfortunate husband, is in a letter of instructions despatched by him from Wanstead, on the 12th of July, in this same year, to Lord Carlton, then English ambassador at the French court, a copy of which was found in his own hand among his papers taken by the parliamentary army at Naseby, in 1645, and soon after printed under the title of ‘The King’s Cabinet Opened.’ This curious statement is far too long to be given in full ; but two or three sentences may be quoted. His majesty begins by referring to the knowledge which both the French king and his mother already have of the unkindness and distastes which had fallen out between his wife and himself, “which hitherto,” he continues, “I have borne with great patience (as all the world knows), ever expecting and hoping an amendment ; knowing her to be but young, and perceiving it to be the ill crafty counsels of her servants for advancing of their own ends, rather than her own inclination.” Their quarrelling began a very short time after their marriage. “Madame St. George,” says his majesty, “taking a distaste because I would not let her ride with us in the coach, when there was women of better quality to fill her room, claiming it as her due (which in England we think a strange thing), set my wife in such an humour of distaste against me, as, from that very hour to this, no man can say that ever she used me two days together with so much respect as I deserved of her.” And then he relates various instances of her contumacy and violence ; concluding, “Thus having so long patience with the disturbance of that that should be one of my greatest contentments, I can no longer suffer those that I know to be the cause and fomenters of these humours to be about my wife any longer ; which I must do, if it were but for one action they made my wife do, which is, to make her go to Tyburn in devotion to pray ; which action can have no greater invective made against [it] than the relation.” The affair here referred to was a pilgrimage which Queen Henrietta’s confessor made her perform one morning, barefoot, all

the way across Hyde-park, to the gallows at Tyburn, on arriving at which she knelt and prayed to the Roman Catholic sufferers who had been executed there in the two preceding reigns, as so many saints and martyrs.* It was an act certainly for which Charles might have been justified in locking her up as gone out of her senses. But he satisfied himself with a milder course. He had already, on the 1st of July, gone to Somerset House, where the queen's foreign establishment was lodged, and had told the *monsieurs* and *madames* that he neither could nor would any longer endure their conduct; but finding they would take no hint, he was obliged a few weeks after to employ stronger measures. We find him on the 7th of August writing to Buckingham, in a letter printed by Sir Henry Ellis, "Force them away, drive them away, like so many wild beasts, and so the devil go with them." Accordingly they were all sent off a few days after in a string of about forty coaches to Dover, which they reached after a journey of four days, and whence they were transported to France on the 12th of August. The Roman Catholic account is that there were only sixty of them, and this appears to have been their original number; but they are said to have received large accessions while here, and one enumeration makes them to have amounted, when they were turned off, to four hundred and forty in all, besides children. It is affirmed that the keeping of them cost 240*l.* a day; and that the payment of their debts, and of some presents and pensions bestowed upon them at their departure, absorbed not less than 50,000*l.* Queen Henrietta became a manageable wife after she was thus taken out of the hands of her French priests and waiting-women; nay, she came, as was generally believed, to manage her husband, who acquired for the rest of his life the reputation

* Dr. Lingard, after professing, in a note, to examine the evidence upon which this charge rests, comes to the conclusion that it was a mere fiction invented by the enemies of the queen and her religion; but he takes no notice of the passage quoted in the text from the king's own letter.

of extreme uxoriousness, or obsequiousness to the counsels and wishes of his wife. But in how far she is chargeable with having been, as has been represented, the instigator of some of his worst mistakes, or of those parts of his conduct which would seem to have principally occasioned his misfortunes and eventual ruin, may be doubted. There was enough in Charles's own character, and indeed almost in his position, whatever his character had been, to occasion and to account for all that happened.

At his accession circumstances and the minds of men were ripe for a renewal of that struggle between the popular and the monarchical principles of the constitution, which his predecessor had with difficulty put down when it broke out in the parliament assembled in 1621. Charles began his reign by retaining as his chief adviser the unpopular, unprincipled, and incapable Buckingham. And Buckingham's first proceeding was to commence hostilities against Spain, and thus to involve his master in pecuniary difficulties, which offered to the popular party an opportunity of pursuing their objects too promising to be neglected.

The reign commenced accordingly with a contest between the king and the parliament, the latter firmly refusing to grant the supplies demanded by his majesty until they had obtained both a redress of grievances and a limitation of the prerogative. Charles on his part met the resistance of the parliament both by insisting upon preserving the prerogative entire and by boldly putting it in force. In the course of this first contest three parliaments were successively called together and dismissed. The first met on the 18th of June, 1625, and was dissolved the 12th of August, in the same year; the second met the 6th of February, 1626, and was dissolved, before it had passed a single act, the 15th of June; the third met the 17th of March, 1628, was suddenly prorogued the 26th of June, was called together for a second session the 20th of January, 1629, and was finally dissolved the 10th of March of the same year. All this time the proceedings of the king continued to

be of the most arbitrary character. Money was collected from the people by force ; the influence of the crown was exercised in the most open manner to overawe the judges, in cases in which the liberty of the subject was concerned ; the first privilege of parliament itself was violated by the seizure of members of the House of Commons, and their commitment to prison, for words alleged to have been spoken by them in debate. Nor is Charles free from the charge of having resorted to manœuvring and subterfuge to escape from the demands with which he was pressed. He is especially exposed to the charge of such insincerity and indirectness by his conduct in the affair of the Petition of Right, which was passed in the first session of his third parliament, and to which he was eventually compelled to give his assent. This was the greatest, indeed it may be said the only, victory obtained by the popular party in the course of the struggle ; and it was rendered ineffectual for the present, by the temporary success of the king in the plan which he at length adopted of governing without parliaments. Immediately before entering on this line of policy, he wisely made peace, first, on the 14th of April, 1629, with France, with which power he had entered (in July, 1626) into a foolish war, every operation in which was a disgraceful failure ; and secondly, on the 5th of November, 1630, with Spain, the war with which had not been more creditable to his arms. Meanwhile also, the assassination of Buckingham, on the 23rd of August, 1628, had rid him of that evil adviser.

His principal advisers now were the queen, Bishop Laud, and Wentworth, created Earl of Strafford. The state of things now established, and which may be described as the complete subjugation of the constitution by the prerogative of the crown, lasted for nearly eight years. The only memorable attempt at resistance was that made by Hampden, who refused to pay his assessment of ship-money, and whose case was argued before the twelve judges, in April, 1637, and decided in favour of the crown. Meantime, however, the opposition of

the people of Scotland to the episcopal form of church government, which had for some time been established among them, suddenly burst out into a flame. The first disturbances took place at Edinburgh, in the end of July, 1637 ; and by the beginning of the following year the whole country was in a state of insurrection against the royal authority. In these circumstances Charles called together his fourth parliament, which met on the 13th of April, 1640. The temper which the members showed, however, induced him to dissolve it on the 5th of May following. But the Scotch army having entered England on the 20th of August, he again found himself forced to have recourse to the representatives of the people. The result was, the meeting, on the 3rd of November, of a fifth parliament, which is generally known under the name of the Long Parliament.

The first proceedings of this assembly amounted to entering into a complete alliance with the Scottish insurgents. By one bill after another, the king was stripped of all the most objectionable of his prerogatives. The commons also voted that no bishop should have any vote in parliament nor bear any sway in temporal affairs, and that no clergyman should be in the commission of the peace. Of his advisers, Laud was sent to the Tower, and Strafford was executed, in conformity with an act of attainder, his assenting to which has always been regarded as one of the greatest stains on the character of Charles. Laud also, as is more particularly related in a subsequent page, was executed after he had remained a prisoner in the Tower more than four years. After having yielded everything else, however, Charles refused his assent to the Militia Bill, which was presented to him in February, 1642, the object of which was to transfer all the military power of the kingdom into the hands of the parliament. The first blood drawn in the civil war which followed was at the indecisive battle of Edgehill, fought on Sunday, the 23rd of October, in that year. After this the war extended itself over the whole kingdom. For some time success seemed to incline to the royal side, and at the beginning of the year

1644, throughout both the west and the north of England, all opposition to the king was nearly subdued. In February of that year, however, another Scottish army crossed the border, and on the 2nd of July, at Marston Moor, the royalists sustained a defeat from the combined Scottish and parliamentary forces, which proved a fatal blow to the king's affairs. The brilliant exploits of the Marquis of Montrose in Scotland, at the end of this year and the beginning of the next, were thrown away in the circumstances in which his royal master now was. At length, on the 14th of June, 1645, was fought the battle of Naseby, which may be said to have finished the war. On the 5th of May, 1646, Charles delivered himself up to the Scotch army encamped before Newark, who, on the 30th of January, 1647, gave him up to the commissioners of the English parliament. On the 3rd of June he was forcibly taken by Cornet Joyce out of the hands of the commissioners, and carried to the army then lying at Triplow Heath, and now in open rebellion against their old masters of the parliament. On the 16th of August he was brought by the army to Hampton Court, from which he made his escape on the 11th of November, and eventually sought refuge with Hammond, the parliamentary governor of the Isle of Wight. Here he was detained a close prisoner in Carisbrook Castle till the 30th of November, 1648, when he was seized by Colonel Ewer, and carried to Hurst Castle, on the opposite coast of Hampshire, by an order of the council of officers in the army. Meanwhile risings in his favour, which had been attempted in various parts of the kingdom, were all suppressed without difficulty by the now dominant army. An army in the Presbyterian interest, which was advancing from Scotland under the conduct of the Duke of Hamilton, was met on the 17th of August, at Langdale, near Preston, by Cromwell, who, after completely routing it, penetrated as far as Edinburgh, and reduced everything to subjection in that quarter. On the 6th of December, Colonel Pride took possession of the House of Commons, with a strong detachment of soldiers, and cleared it by force of all the

members, except the minority of about a hundred and fifty, who were in the Independent interest. On the 23rd the king was brought in custody to Windsor, and on the 15th of January, 1649, to St. James's. On the 20th, he was brought to trial in Westminster Hall, before what was designated the High Court of Justice. Sentence of death was pronounced against him on the 27th, and he was executed by decapitation, on a scaffold erected in front of the Banqueting House at Whitehall, at two in the afternoon of the 30th.

Charles I. had eight children by Queen Henrietta, of whom six survived him; namely, Charles, Prince of Wales, and James, Duke of York, afterwards Kings of England; Henry, created, in 1659, Duke of Gloucester; Mary, married to William, Prince of Orange, by whom she became mother of William, afterwards King of England; Elizabeth, who died a prisoner in Carisbrook Castle, September 8th, 1650, in her fifteenth year; and Henrietta Maria, who married Philip, Duke of Orleans, from whom, through a daughter, is descended the Royal family of Sardinia.

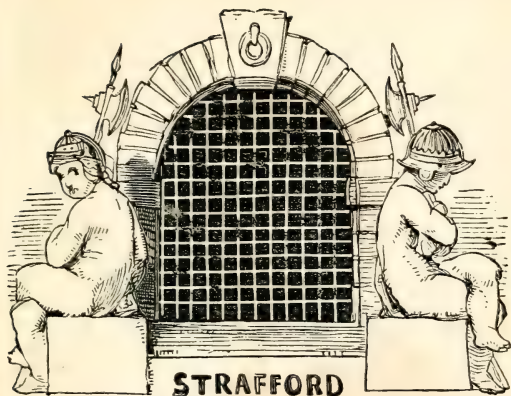
The literary works attributed to King Charles have been collected and published under the title of '*Reliquiæ Sacræ Carolinæ.*' A list of them may be found in Horace Walpole's '*Royal and Noble Authors.*' They consist chiefly of letters and a few state papers, and of the famous '*Eikon Basilike,*' which first appeared immediately after the death of the king; but his claim to the authorship of this work has been much disputed, and is now generally considered to have been disproved. His majesty, however, was master of an easy and occasionally forcible English style, and he was a great friend to the fine arts, which he encouraged in the early part of his reign.

The original authorities for the history of the reign of Charles I. are very numerous. Among those of greatest importance may be mentioned Rushworth's '*Historical Collections;*' Whitelock's '*Memorials of English Affairs;*' Clarendon's '*History of the Grand Rebellion;*' and May's '*History of the (Long) Parliament.*' The

general reader will find a sufficiently ample detail of the events of the time in the histories of Rapin, Hume, and Lingard. The most important of the recent works on the reign of Charles I. are those of Brodie, Godwin, and D'Israeli. The subject of the authorship of the 'Eikon Basilike' has been re-agitated of late by Dr. Christopher Wordsworth, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, in a work in which he contends that the book was the production of King Charles.



STANFORD



THOMAS WENTWORTH, afterwards Earl of Strafford, was born in Chancery-lane, London, on the 13th of April, 1593. He was the eldest son of Sir William Wentworth, of Wentworth Woodhouse, in the county of York, where his family are said to have been settled since the time of the Conquest. His family was one of the most opulent as well as ancient of the class known in England under the name of gentry, and had frequently intermarried with the higher aristocracy. The estate which Wentworth inherited from his father was worth 6000*l.* a year, a very large sum at that time, probably equal to more than three times the amount in the present day. ('Strafford's Letters and Dispatches,' vol. ii., pp. 105, 106, folio edition, London, 1739, and Dr. Knowler's Dedication, prefixed to them.) He received part of his education at St. John's College, Cambridge. In 1611 he married the Lady Margaret Clifford, the eldest daughter of Francis, earl of Cumberland. The

accuracy of this date as that of his first marriage, given by his friend Sir George Radcliffe, appears to be established by a letter dated 11th January, 1611, from Sir Peter Frecheville to his father Sir William Wentworth; although the compilers of his Life in the 'Biographia Britannica' have chosen, in direct opposition to the statement of Radcliffe, the old and intimate friend of Wentworth, to place his marriage after his return from the Continent, towards the end of 1612 (by the old mode of reckoning, according to which the legal year began on the 25th of March, but by the new about the beginning of 1613), instead of in 1611, before his going abroad.

The same letter also shows that he was from his early years of studious and regular habits. He appears to have taken almost as much pains as Cicero recommends for the education of an orator. Sir George Radcliffe informs us that the excellence possessed by him in speaking and writing he attained first by reading well-penned authors in French, English, and Latin, and observing their expressions; secondly, by hearing of eloquent men, which he did diligently in their sermons and public speeches; thirdly, by a very great care and industry, which he used when he was young in penning his epistles and missives of what subject soever; but above all, he had a natural quickness of wit and fancy, with great clearness of judgment, and much practice, without which his other helps of reading and hearing would not have brought him to that great perfection which he had obtained. "I learned one rule of him," adds Sir George, "which I think worthy to be remembered; when he met with a well-penned oration or tract upon any subject or question, he framed a speech upon the same argument, inventing and disposing what seemed fit to be said upon that subject before he read the book; then reading the book, compare his own with the author, and note his own defects, and the author's art and fullness; whereby he observed all that was in the author more strictly, and might better judge of his own wants to supply them." ('Strafford's Letters and Dispatches,' vol. ii. p. 435.)

In some of Strafford's earlier letters, particularly those

to Sir George Calvert, principal secretary of state in the time of James I., there is, though no marks of profound scholarship, a somewhat pedantic display of trite Latin quotations. From these however, though we may judge so far of the extent of Strafford's scholarship, it would be incorrect to estimate his abilities, for they are mostly confined to his early letters, and, among them, to his letters to courtiers.

Upon his early habits still further light is thrown by some advice which he gives to his nephew, Sir William Savile, in a letter dated "Dublin Castle, 29th September, 1633." Advising him to "distrust himself and fortify his youth by the counsel of his more aged friends before he undertakes any thing of consequence;" he adds, "It was the course that I governed myself by after my father's death, with great advantage to myself and affairs, and yet my breeding abroad had shown me more of the world than yours hath done; and I had natural reason like other men, only I confess I did in all things distrust myself, wherein you shall do, as I said, extremely well if you do so too." ('Letters and Dispatches,' vol. i. p. 169.)

The letter from which the above quotation is made contains so much good advice, so well and so weightily expressed, that it may bear a comparison with Burleigh's celebrated 'Advice to his Son;' the resemblance in some passages is striking. With respect to the greater part of this advice, particularly what regards economy and regularity in the management of his private affairs, temperance in drinking, and abstinence from gaming, it was the rule by which Wentworth shaped his own conduct, and to which, according to Radcliffe, he strictly adhered. The part of the advice to which he himself least adhered was that recommending calmness and courtesy of demeanour; for even his most intimate friend Sir George Radcliffe admits that "he was naturally exceeding cholerick," and the actions of his life show that in that particular he was never able thoroughly to subdue nature.

In the same year in which he was married Wentworth

went into France, having previously been knighted. He was accompanied by the Rev. Charles Greenwood, fellow of University College, Oxford, as his "governor," or travelling tutor, for whom he entertained the greatest respect and regard to the end of his life. In February, 1613, he returned to England. He was returned and sat for the county of York in the parliament which began April 5th, 1614. Radcliffe's account as to this date, though rejected by the writers in the '*Biographia Britannica*,' and Mr. MacDiarmid, is confirmed by Browne Willis's '*Notitia Parliamentaria*,' vol. iii. p. 169: "Co. Ebor., Jo. Saville, kt., Thomas Wentworth, kt. and bart., anno 12 Jac. I., began April 5, 1614, and continued till June 7, and was then dissolved." During this short parliament, which continued only two months, Wentworth does not appear to have spoken. Mr. Forster, his latest biographer, says that he has examined the Journals, and finds no trace of Wentworth's speaking on either side in the great struggle that was then going on. ('*Life of Strafford*,' in the '*Cabinet Cyclopædia*;' '*Lives of Eminent British Statesmen*,' vol. ii. p. 197.)

In 1615 Wentworth was appointed to the office of *custos rotulorum* for the west riding of the county of York, in the room of Sir John Savile; an office of which Savile attempted to deprive him about two years after, through the influence of the favourite, Buckingham, but without success, though he succeeded afterwards. The result was a feud between Wentworth and the Saviles, the father and son, Sir John Savile the younger, afterwards Lord Savile.

In 1621 Wentworth was again returned to parliament for the county of York; and this time he brought in Sir George Calvert, one of the secretaries of state, along with him. In Michaelmas term he removed his family from Wentworth Woodhouse to London. He took up his abode in Austin Friars, where in 1622 he had a "great fever." When he began to recover he removed, about July, to Bow, where shortly after his wife the Lady Margaret died. On the 24th of February, 1625, he married the Lady Arabella Hollis, a younger daugh-

ter of the Earl of Clare, a lady, observes Radcliffe, "exceeding comely and beautiful, and yet much more lovely in the endowments of her mind."

Hitherto, though Wentworth had not taken a very prominent part in the proceedings of parliament, still he was considered to have acted with the party that opposed the court, as appears from the fact of his being, on the eve of the calling together of a new parliament, among the number of those whom Buckingham attempted to disable from serving, by having them pricked sheriffs of their respective counties. In November, 1625, Wentworth was made sheriff of Yorkshire. A passage from one of his letters at this time shows that he was never inclined to go the lengths that some others did in resistance to the royal prerogative. ('Strafford's Letters and Dispatches,' vol. i. p. 33.)

In May, 1627, he was committed a prisoner to the Marshalsea by the lords of the council for refusing the royal loan; and about six weeks after, his imprisonment was exchanged for confinement at the town of Dartford in Kent, from which place he was not to go above two miles. About Christmas he was released; and shortly after the third parliament of Charles began, in which Wentworth served as knight for Yorkshire. Wentworth had now resolved to make the court party more aware of the extent of his talents than they yet appeared to be. On the discussion of the general question of grievances he spoke with an ability and spirit which proved to them that he might turn out such an enemy, that he was worth having as a friend. It has been usual to speak of Wentworth as an apostate: but he never appears to have been at heart on the popular, or rather the parliamentary side. His whole conduct, both before and after he became the king's minister, shows that he considered the general movement in modern Europe to be not towards democracy, but towards the establishment of absolute monarchy. The several springs of Wentworth's conduct are now fully laid bare in a manner that they could hardly be to his contemporaries, and in a manner that few men's have ever been to after-ages, by the publica-

tion of the two large folio volumes of his 'Letters and Dispatches,' one of the most valuable collections of papers, both in a political and historical point of view, ever made public. In that collection there are two letters (Strafford, 'Letters and Dispatches,' vol. i. pp. 34, 35) to Sir Richard Weston, chancellor of the exchequer, containing very unequivocal overtures, the non-acceptance of which at the time would seem to have produced the indignant outbreak of patriotic eloquence above alluded to.

In June, 1628, the parliament ended. In July, Sir Thomas Wentworth, having been reconciled to Buckingham, was created Baron Wentworth. The death of Buckingham, soon after, removed the only obstacle to higher honours. In Michaelmas term he was made Viscount Wentworth, Lord President of the North, and a privy councillor.

The establishment of the Council of the North originated in the frequent northern rebellions which followed Henry VIII.'s suppression of the lesser monasteries, and extended over the counties of York, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham. The commission, though apparently only one of oyer and terminer, contained a clause authorising the commissioners to hear all causes real and personal, when either of the parties was poor, and decide according to sound discretion. This clause was declared by all the judges to be illegal. James issued a new commission, by which the commissioners were not ordered to inquire "*per sacramentum bonorum et legalium hominum*" (by the oath of good and lawful men), or to be controlled by forms of law, but were merely referred to certain secret instructions which were sent down to the council. Against this, however, the judges had the courage to protest, and to issue prohibitions on demand to the president and council; and the instructions were ordered to be enrolled, that the people might have some chance of knowing them.

Dr. Knowler, the editor of the 'Strafford Papers,' in the adulatory dedication of them to his patron, the grand-

son of the Earl of Strafford, gravely observes that "Sir Thomas Wentworth, who was a true friend to episcopal government in the church, and to a limited monarchy in the state, could have no reason, when the Petition of Right was granted, to refuse to bear his share of toil and pains in the service of the public, or to withstand the offer of those honours his majesty was graciously pleased to make him, especially when it gave him an opportunity of setting an example of a wise and just and steady administration." Wentworth's acceptance of the office of president of this council was a flagrant violation of the fundamental principle of the Petition of Right. His career in the office too did not belie the promise of its acceptance. One of his first acts was to declare that he would lay any man by the heels who ventured to sue out a prohibition in the courts at Westminster. (Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 159.) And one of the judges (Vernon), who had the courage to resist these encroachments on the ancient laws of the land, Wentworth tried hard to have removed from his office. (Strafford, 'Letters and Dispatches,' vol. i. pp. 129, 130.) Indeed, like his friend and coadjutor Laud, Wentworth never let slip an opportunity of expressing his bitter dislike of the interference of the judges and common lawyers with his scheme of governing, not by the laws of England, but according to "sound discretion."

In January, 1631, Wentworth was made lord deputy of Ireland. The principle on which he set about governing there was in substance the same as that of his government in the presidency of York. "These lawyers," he writes to the lord marshal, "would monopolise to themselves all judicature, as if no honour or justice could be rightly administered but under one of their bencher's gowns." (Strafford, 'Letters and Dispatches,' vol. i. p. 223.) And he adds, a line or two after, "Therefore if your lordship's judgment approve of my reasons, I beseech you to assist me therein, or rather the king's service, and I shall be answerable with my head."

It is remarkable how frequently he alludes to this last as the test of the soundness of the policy of his measures.

They were in the end so tested, and being found wanting, he was taken at his word; he was called upon to pay, and paid the forfeit. One of the principal means by which Wentworth sought to squeeze money out of the people of Ireland was by holding a parliament.

Wentworth's political economy was not very sound, yet he saw far enough to discover that to enrich the king, the way was, to begin by enriching the people. "For this is a ground," he says, "I take with me, that to serve your majesty completely well in Ireland we must not only endeavour to enrich *them*, but make sure still to hold them dependent upon the crown, and not able to subsist without *us*." ("Strafford's Letters and Dispatches," vol. i. p. 93.) But the plan he proposed does not seem certainly very well adapted for enriching the people. "Which will be effected," he proceeds, "by wholly laying aside the manufacture of wools into cloth or stuff there, and by furnishing them from this kingdom; and then making your majesty sole merchant of all salts on that side; for thus shall they not only have their clothing, the improvement of all their native commodities (which are principally preserved by salt), and their victual itself from hence (strong ties and enforcements upon their allegiance and obedience to your majesty); but a means found, I trust, much to advance your majesty's revenue upon salt, and to improve your customs. The wools there grown, and the cloths there worn, thus paying double duties to your crown in both kingdoms; and the salt outward here, both inward and outward there." He thus sums up the advantages of the measures proposed:—"Holding them from the manufacture of wool (which, unless otherwise directed, I shall by all means discourage), and thus enforcing them to fetch their clothing from thence, and to take their salt from the king (being that which preserves and gives value to all their native staple commodities), how can they depart from us without nakedness and beggary? Which in itself is so weighty a consideration, as a small profit should not bear it down." ('Letters and Dispatches,' vol. i. p. 193.)

In one particular he did benefit Ireland. At his own risk he imported and sowed a quantity of superior flax-seed. The first crop having succeeded, he next year laid out 1000*l.* on the undertaking, set up a number of looms, procuring workmen from France and Flanders, and sent a ship to Spain freighted with linen at his own risk. Thus began the linen manufacture of Ireland, which in some measure verified Wentworth's prediction that it would greatly benefit that country. (Strafford, 'Letters and Dispatches,' vol. i. p. 473.)

Wentworth appears to have been of very infirm health, which, taken with the general course of his education and his position in society, will in part account for the acerbity and irritability of temper, and the impatience of any opposition to his will, which throughout his career involved him in so many personal quarrels. The number of powerful personal enemies which Wentworth thus arrayed against himself appears to us to be a proof of the want of real political talent of a high order. A really wise politician, such as Oliver Cromwell for example, does not raise up such a host of powerful personal enemies. Laud gives a good hint about this in one of his letters. "And yet, my lord," he says, "if you could find way do all these great services and decline these storms, I think it would be excellent well thought on." (Strafford, 'Letters and Dispatches,' vol. i. p. 479.)

In 1639 Charles raised Wentworth to the dignity of an earl, which he had in vain solicited formerly. He was created Earl of Strafford and Baron of Raby, and invested with the title of lord-lieutenant, or lieutenant-general of Ireland—a title which had not been borne since the time of Essex.

In 1640 the earl of Northumberland being attacked by severe illness, the king appointed Strafford in his place, to the command of the army against the Scots. He does not appear to have performed anything here to make good either his own high pretensions or the character for valour given him by some writers. Of his impeachment at the opening of the Long Parliament

Clarendon gives the following account :—" It was about three of the clock in the afternoon [of November 11, 1640] when the Earl of Strafford (being infirm, and not well-disposed in health, and so not having stirred out of his house that morning), hearing that both houses still sate, thought fit to go thither. It was believed by some (upon what ground was never clear enough) that he made that haste there to accuse the Lord Say, and some others, of having induced the Scots to invade the kingdom ; but he was scarce entered into the House of Peers, when the message from the House of Commons was called in, and when Mr. Pym at the bar, and in the name of all the Commons of England, impeached Thomas, earl of Strafford (with the addition of all his other titles), of high treason."

On the 25th of November (1640), at a conference between the two houses in reference to the subject of this impeachment, Mr. Pym made a speech, in which he attempted, with considerable though unsuccessful ingenuity, to prove that the earl of Strafford was guilty of treason, on the ground that " other treasons are against the rule of the law, but this is against the being of the law." The laws against treason in England having been made to protect the king, not the subject, it would be in vain to look in the Statute of Treasons, the 25th Edward III. st. 5, c. 2, which at that time constituted the English law of treason (the statutes of Henry VIII., making so many new treasons, having been repealed by 1 Mary, c. 1), for any definition or description, or even any mention of that of which Strafford was accused, viz., an attempt to increase the power of the king, and to depress that of a subject. Pym was partly aware of this, and he endeavoured to meet it by saying that this treason, of which he speaks, " is enlarged beyond the limits of any description or definition." But though it was not to be supposed or expected that the Statute of Treasons of Edward III. (25 Edward III. st. 5, c. 2), being made to protect the king, not the subject, would provide specially for the punishment of such attempts as those of Strafford ; it does nevertheless appear that Strafford was

punishable for having become the instrument for administering the government of the Council of the North, carried on in direct violation of the Petition of Right, which during the time of Strafford's being president of that council was the law of the land. However the Commons changed their course and introduced a bill of attainder, which was passed on the 21st of April, in the Commons, and soon after in the Lords. The king with tears in his eyes, and other demonstrations of weakness characteristic of him, signed a commission for giving the royal assent to the bill, and then made some feeble and unavailing efforts to save the life of his obnoxious minister. "The resort to the bill of attainder," observes Mr. Forster ('Life of Strafford,' p. 404), "arose from no failure of the impeachment, as has been frequently alleged, but because in the course of that impeachment circumstances arose which suggested to the great leader of the popular cause the greater safety of fixing this case upon wider grounds. Without stretching to the slightest extent the boundaries of any statute, they thought it better at once to bring Strafford's treason to the condemnation of the sources of all law."

Strafford was beheaded on Tower-hill on the 12th of May, 1641. In his walk from the Tower to the place of execution his step and manner are described by Rushworth as being those of "a general marching at the head of an army, to breathe victory, rather than those of a condemned man, to undergo the sentence of death." Within a few weeks after his death, the parliament mitigated the penalties of their sentence to his children. In the succeeding reign, the attainder was reversed, and his son was restored to the earldom.



JOHN HAMPDEN, one of the most distinguished of the patriots of England, was the head and representative of an ancient and opulent family, which had received the lands of Hampden, in Buckinghamshire, from Edward the Confessor, and boasted to have transmitted its wealth, honours, and influence, unimpaired and increasing, in direct male succession, down to this the most illustrious name of the house. He was the eldest son of William Hampden, of Hampden, and of his wife Elizabeth, second daughter of Sir Henry Cromwell, of Hinchinbrooke, in Huntingdonshire, and aunt of the Protector, Cromwell. John Hampden was born in London in 1594, and at the age of three years came, by the death of his father, into possession of the family estates, which, besides the ancient seat and extensive domain in Buckinghamshire, comprehended large possessions in Essex, Oxfordshire, and Berkshire. He was brought up at the free grammar-school of Thame, in Oxfordshire;



ALFRED, KING OF THE SAXONS.

entered as a commoner at Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1609; and was admitted student of the Inner Temple in 1613, where he made considerable progress in the knowledge of common law. His classical attainments also seem to have been respectable, since he was associated, oddly enough, with Laud, then Master of St. John's, in writing the Oxford gratulatory poems on the marriage of the Elector Palatine and the Princess Elizabeth; from which sprung Prince Rupert, who led the Royalist troops when Hampden received his death-wound. In 1619 he married, at Pyrton, in Oxfordshire, his first wife Elizabeth Symeon, only daughter of Edward Symeon. Inheriting a noble property, he devoted himself, without suffering his literary habits to fall into desuetude, principally to the business and amusements of a country life, having, says Lord Clarendon, "on a sudden retired from a life of great pleasure and license, to extraordinary sobriety and strictness, and yet retained his usual cheerfulness and affability." His first entrance into public life was in January, 1620-1, when he took his seat in the Parliament then convened, for Grampound, at that time a borough of wealth and importance: a prevalent error, that he sat for the first time in the first Parliament summoned by Charles I. in 1625, is corrected Lord Nugent, who in his 'Memorials' of Hampden has shown that he sat in the Parliaments of 1621 and 1624; that he was active and diligent in his attendance, and intimately connected himself with Selden, Pym, St. John, and other leaders of the popular party; and that, though he seldom spoke, his capacity for business was known and respected, as appears from the employments in committees and conferences imposed on him by the House.

In the first Parliament of Charles I., Hampden sat for Wendover, an ancient borough of Buckinghamshire, which with two others had lately regained their dormant privilege of returning members, chiefly by his exertions and at his expense. In this and in the following Parliament summoned in February, 1627, Hampden still appears to have taken no leading part; but his influence, both in and out of parliament, gradually increased, espe-

cially in his native county of Buckingham. After the dissolution of the latter parliament, Charles began to put in force his threat of raising supplies by unusual means, and required a general loan, to which Hampden was called upon to contribute. This he refused to do, and was in consequence imprisoned for a time in the Gate House, and then sent, still under restraint, to reside in Hampshire. The order for his release, with seventy-six others, is dated March, 1627-8. On this occasion, he made the remarkable reply to the demand, why he would not contribute to the king's necessities, that "he could be content to lend as well as others, but feared to draw upon himself that curse in Magna Charta, which should be read twice a-year against those who infringe it."

In the new Parliament which met in March, 1628, Hampden again sat for Wendover, and having become more generally known by the part which he had taken in resisting the demands of the crown, from this time forward, says Lord Nugent, "scarcely was a bill prepared, or an inquiry begun, upon any subject, however remotely affecting any one of the three great matters at issue—privilege, religion, or the supplies—but he was thought fit to be associated with St. John, Selden, Coke, and Pym, on the committee."

That Parliament, after framing the Petition of Right, voting supplies, and taking resolute steps towards procuring a redress of grievances, was hastily and angrily dissolved in May, 1629. Previous to this, Hampden, "although retaining his seat for Wendover, had retired to his estate in Buckinghamshire, to live in entire privacy, without display, but not inactive; contemplating from a distance the madness of the Government, the luxury and insolence of the courtiers, and the portentous apathy of the people, who, amazed by the late measures, and by the prospect of uninterruptedly increasing violence, saw no hope from petition or complaint, and watched, in confusion and silence, the inevitable advance of an open rupture between the King and the Parliament. The literary acquirements of his youth he now carefully improved; increasing that stock of general knowledge which had

already gained him the reputation of being one of the most learned and accomplished men of his age ; and directing his attention chiefly to writers on history and politics. Davila's ' History of the Civil Wars of France ' became his favourite study, his *vade-mecum*, as Sir Philip Warwick styles it ; as if, forecasting from afar the course of the storm which hung over his own country, he already saw the sad parallel it was likely to afford to the story of that work. In his retirement, he bent the whole force of his capacious mind to the most effectual means by which the abuses of ecclesiastical authority were to be corrected, and the tide of headlong prerogative checked, whenever the slumbering spirit of the country should be roused to deal with those duties to which he was preparing to devote himself." (' Memorials of Hampden,' p. 175.) It may here be added that Hampden's religious opinions were those of the Independent party, who were honourably distinguished, no less from the Presbyterians than the Episcopalians, by granting to all persons that freedom of conscience and full toleration which they claimed for themselves. While thus awaiting, with study and patient observation, the time when the active service of a real patriot might benefit his country, his domestic happiness received a severe blow by the death of his wife, August 20, 1634. She left nine children, three sons and six daughters.

In the same autumn the scheme of raising a revenue by ship-money was devised. Confined in the first instance to sea-port towns, it proved so profitable, that the levy was soon extended to inland places. In 1636 the charge was laid, by order of council, upon all counties, cities, and corporate towns, and the sheriffs were required, in case of refusal or delay, to proceed by distress. Here Hampden resolved to make a stand. The sum demanded of him was but thirty-one shillings and sixpence ; but the very smallness of the sum served to show that his opposition was directed against the principle of the exaction, and rested on no ground of personal inconvenience or individual injustice. In 1637, proceedings being instituted in the Exchequer for recovery of the money, the

case was solemnly argued for twelve days in the Exchequer chamber before the twelve judges, who severally delivered their opinions, and by a majority of eight to four determined in favour of the crown. "But the judgment," says Lord Clarendon, "infinitely more advanced him, Mr. Hampden, than the service for which it was given. He was rather of reputation in his own county, than of public discourse or fame in the kingdom, before the business of ship-money: but then he grew the argument of all tongues, every man inquiring who or what he was that durst at his own charge support the liberty and property of the country, as he thought, from being made a prey to the court. His carriage throughout this agitation was with that rare temper and modesty, that they who watched him narrowly to find some advantage against his person, to make him less resolute in his cause, were compelled to give him a just testimony."

These measures, which placed at the king's disposal the property of the country, were accompanied by equally stringent attacks on its liberties. Tutored by the lofty spirit of Wentworth, Charles resolved, and seemed likely to succeed, to rule independently of Parliaments; and in the sycophancy of the judges, and the unlimited and illegal severities of the courts of the Star-Chamber and High Commission, he had ample means of suppressing murmur and punishing the refractory. We need not dwell upon the state to which the country was reduced, during the eleven years which elapsed without the meeting of a Parliament: so unpromising did it appear, that even the most resolute of that party comprehended by the Royalists under the general name of Puritans had already begun to withdraw from the tyranny of the court. The government, in various ways, had rendered itself so odious, that thousands of men of all ranks had already separated themselves from their native land, and twelve millions of property was said to have been thus withdrawn from the country. These emigrations, however, were forbidden by an order in council, dated April 6, 1638, by which masters of ships were prohibited to carry passengers to America, without special licence. It has

often been dwelt on as a very remarkable circumstance, that Hampden, his cousin Oliver Cromwell, and Pym, were at this time actually embarked for New England on board one of eight ships then lying in the river Thames and freighted with emigrants, and that these eight ships were specially ordered to be detained.

A dawn of better times appeared, when in consequence of the king's rash attempt to impose the English ritual upon Scotland, and restore Episcopacy, that country rose in rebellion. The expenses of the war rendered it imperative to obtain supplies; and Charles, fearing at this juncture to resort to fresh impositions, saw no resource except in summoning that which is commonly called the Short Parliament, which met in April, 1640. Hampden was returned for Buckinghamshire. About this time he had married his second wife, Letitia Vachell, daughter of Mr. Vachell, of Coley, near Reading, in Berkshire, but the quiet happiness of his home was henceforth entirely broken up by the disturbances of the times, and he never returned to any settled residence at his paternal mansion. In the short and energetic session of this spring he displayed his usual diligence and activity; and his influence was much increased in consequence of his resistance to the demand of ship-money, which had attracted such notice, that Clarendon, in speaking of the opening of the Long Parliament, in November following, observes, "The eyes of all men were fixed upon him as their Pater Patriæ, and the pilot that must steer the vessel through the tempests and rocks which threatened it. And I am persuaded his power and interest, at that time, was greater to do good or hurt, than any man in the kingdom, or than any man of his rank hath held in any time; for his reputation of honesty was universal, and his affections seemed so publicly guided, that no corrupt or private ends could bias them."

The causes of the dissolution of the Short Parliament, and the history of the second Scottish war which compelled Charles I. to summon the Long Parliament, hardly form a part of our subject: it is to be observed, however, that during the summer and autumn, Hampden,

with other leading persons of the popular party, was engaged in active correspondence with the leaders of the Scottish insurrection, in whose success, as tending to the further embarrassment of the king, they placed their best hope of obtaining security for the maintenance of the liberties and privileges of the English people. Of the first great act of that Parliament, the impeachment of Strafford, he was a zealous supporter, and a member of the committee of twelve appointed to arrange the evidence, and to conduct that memorable trial. After the Commons, for reasons which have never been satisfactorily explained, thought fit to change the method of proceeding by introducing a bill of attainder, the name of Hampden appears in none of the records; and it is probable that he abstained from taking any part in the business. It is important to keep this in mind, because the censure which has justly been cast upon the proceedings of the House of Commons against Lord Strafford applies solely to the attainder, not to the impeachment. To the question, why, if Hampden disapproved of the attainder, he did not as resolutely oppose it as he had supported the impeachment, the following hypothetical answer is supplied by Lord Nugent:—"In a case doubtful to him only as matter of precedent, but clear to him in respect of the guilt of the accused person; in a case in which the accused person, in his estimation, deserved death, and in which all law, except that of the sceptre and the sword, was at an end, if he had escaped it; when all the ordinary protection of law to the subject throughout the country was suspended, and suspended mainly by the counsels of Strafford himself, Hampden was not prepared to heroically immolate the liberties of England in order to save the life of him who would have destroyed them. Hampden probably considered the bill which took away Strafford's life (and indeed it must in fairness be so considered) as a revolutionary act undertaken for the defence of the Commonwealth."

He was an active supporter of two important measures which occupied the Parliament simultaneously with Strafford's impeachment, the Triennial Bill, for securing

the convocation of Parliaments, and the bill for excluding bishops from the House of Lords. After the rejection of the latter, he adopted the views of that more violent party who urged the necessity of abolishing Episcopacy altogether. But, notwithstanding his recognised position as a leader of his party, and his known weight in determining the line of conduct to be pursued by it, he was not a frequent speaker, and his name therefore occurs less frequently than would be expected in the records of this eventful period. "His practice was usually to reserve himself until near the close of a debate; and then, having watched its progress, to endeavour to moderate the redundancies of his friends, to weaken the impression produced by its opponents, to confirm the timid, and to reconcile the reluctant. And this he did, according to the testimony of his opponents themselves, with a modesty, gentleness, and apparent diffidence in his own judgment, which generally brought men round to his conclusions." ('Memorials of Hampden,' ii. 47.) He was one of the five members accused of treason, and who were demanded by Charles in person in the House of Commons, January 6, 1642, "and from this time," says Clarendon, "his nature and carriage seemed much fiercer than it did before." Unquestionably the ill-advised step was not likely to conciliate those whose life was aimed at, but it is also clear that before that event the party with whom he acted were preparing for a struggle more serious than that in which they were as yet engaged. A Committee of Public Safety was formed, of which Hampden was a member, the power of the sword was claimed by the Ordinance of Militia, the king on his part issued his Commission of Array, and at last raised his standard at Nottingham, August 22, 1642.

In the military events of the first year of the war Hampden took an active but subordinate share, as colonel of a regiment of infantry which he himself raised in Buckinghamshire. Nor did he intermit, as the exigencies of war allowed him, to continue his attendance in Parliament, and to urge there that decisive course of action which he knew to be necessary to the success of

the cause, and which he laboured in vain to impress upon the Earl of Essex, the Parliamentary general. At the battle of Brentford, his troops, and those of Lord Brook, in support of the London regiment under Hollis, bore the brunt of the day against superior numbers, until the army arrived from London in the evening; and on this occasion (as before at Edge Hill, where he arrived too late to take part in the fight) he in vain urged Essex to convert, by a decisive forward movement, the doubtful issue of the day into a victory. During the winter months, while the king held his court at Oxford, and a Parliamentary army lay between London and that city, Hampden's regiment was quartered in Buckinghamshire, and his own time was divided between the seat of war and the House of Commons.

To this period also is to be referred the association of six midland counties for the purposes of the war, Bedford, Buckingham, Hertford, Cambridge, Huntingdon, and Northampton; a step which proved of material service in giving strength and union to the Parliamentary cause, and which probably would not have been carried into operation but for Hampden's peculiar talent of allaying jealousies, reconciling conflicting interests, and smoothing away the obstacles to any business which he undertook.

From March 1, to April 15, 1643, a cessation of arms was agreed to in Oxfordshire and Bucks, while an attempt was made to arrange terms of pacification. This treaty having been broken off, war recommenced with an incessant and generally successful series of predatory incursions, conducted by Prince Rupert, on the Parliamentary outposts, which lay widely dispersed in the intricate country on the borders of Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire. In this district, with which his early habits of the chase had made him familiar, Hampden's regiment was quartered. He had laboured incessantly, but in vain, to promote some great enterprise, which might give lustre to the seemingly declining cause, and confidence to the adherents of the Parliament. Failing in this, he manifested no less alacrity in performing his duty than if his views and his suggestions had been adopted: indeed

it would be consonant to his character to suppose, that a strict sense of what is due to military discipline, and a desire to avoid even the appearance of slighting his commanding officer, led him to still more zealous exertions. It was in a matter beyond the strict line of his duty that he received his death-wound. On the evening of the 17th of June, Rupert set out from Oxford with about 2000 men, and surprised and burnt two villages, Postcombe and Chinnor, which were occupied by the Parliamentary troops. When the alarm reached Hampden, he instantly set out at the head of a small party of cavalry, which volunteered to follow him, in hopes of being able to delay the Royalists sufficiently to enable Essex to occupy the passes of the Cherwell, and cut them off from Oxford. Strengthened by the accession of four troops of horse, he overtook Prince Rupert, who drew up to receive the attack on Chalgrove-field, June 18, 1643. Early in the action Hampden received two bullets in the shoulder, which shattered the bone, and in an agony of pain he rode off the field; "a thing," says Clarendon, "he never used to do, and from which it was concluded he was hurt." Two others of the chief Parliamentary officers present were killed or taken, and the Royalists made good their retreat. Hampden expired at Thame, in Oxfordshire, after six days' severe suffering. His last words are thus given from a contemporary publication:—"O Lord God of Hosts, great is thy mercy, just and holy are thy dealings unto us sinful men. Save me, O Lord, if it be thy good will, from the jaws of death. Pardon my manifold transgressions; O Lord, save my bleeding country. Have these realms in thy especial keeping. Confound and level in the dust those who would rob the people of their liberty and lawful prerogative. Let the king see his error, and turn the hearts of his wicked counsellors from the malice and wickedness of their designs. Lord Jesu, receive my soul!" He then mournfully uttered, "O Lord, save my country—O Lord, be merciful to" . . . and here his speech failed him. He fell back in the bed, and expired.

His death, according to Sir Philip Warwick, was re-

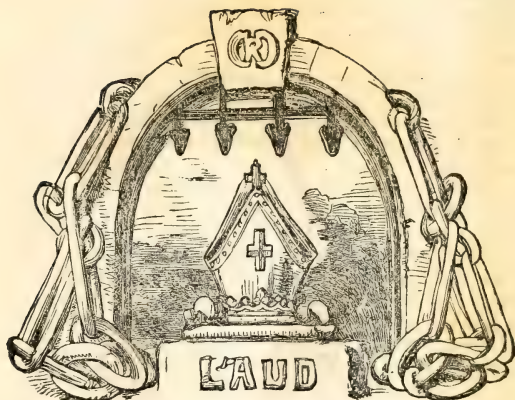
gretted even by the king, "who looked on his interest, if he could gain his affections, as a powerful means of begetting a right understanding between him and the two Houses." To his own party it was irreparable. It removed the fittest person for the chief command of their troops, which it is not unreasonable to suppose would, upon the removal of Essex, have been vested in him; deprived them of a leader and adviser, who, of all, was the most likely to have confined his wishes to the establishment of a secure peace, on the basis of a strictly limited monarchy; and opened the way to the ambition of Cromwell, which probably would never have been developed if Hampden had lived to direct the counsels of the Parliament.

A portion of Lord Clarendon's character of Hampden has already been given from the 'History of the Rebellion,' book vii. As to the estimation in which he was held by his countrymen, Clarendon says, "The eyes of all men were fixed upon him as their *patriæ pater*, and the pilot that must steer the vessel through the tempests and rocks which threatened it. And I am persuaded, his power and interest at that time were greater to do good or hurt than any man's in the kingdom, or than any man of his rank hath had in any time; for his reputation of honesty was universal, and his affections seemed so publicly guided that no corrupt or private ends would bias them."

Of his ability as a public speaker, Clarendon says, "He was of that rare affability and temper in debate, of that seeming humility and submission of judgment, as if he brought no opinion of his own with him, but a desire of information and instruction; yet he had so subtle a way of interrogating, and under the notion of doubts insinuating his objections, that he infused his own opinions into those from whom he pretended to learn and receive them." "He was indeed a very wise man, and of great parts, and possessed of the most absolute spirit of popularity and the most absolute faculties to govern the people of any man I ever knew." "After he was among those members accused by the king of high treason, he was

much altered, his nature and carriage seeming much fiercer than they did before ; and without question when he first drew the sword he threw away the scabbard." Of his personal character and habits Clarendon says, " He was very temperate in diet, and a supreme governor over all his passions and affections, and had thereby a great power over other men's. He was of an industry and vigilance not to be tired out or wearied by the most laborious, and of parts not to be imposed upon by the most subtle and sharp, and of a personal courage equal to his best parts ; so that he was an enemy not to be wished wherever he might have been made a friend ; and as much to be apprehended where he was so as any man could deserve to be." " What was said of Cinna might well be applied to him, ' He had a head to contrive, and a tongue to persuade, and a head to execute any mischief.' " Clarendon thought that Hampden was engaged in a mischievous cause ; those who thought and think differently, instead of ' any mischief ' would write ' any benefit.' The political bias of Clarendon is obvious enough, but the character, of which we have only selected certain portions, is drawn with much discrimination and skill.

A later and more elaborate account of this eminent patriot has been given by Lord Nugent, from which the greater part of our memoir is derived. But the memoirs and pamphlets of the time must be intimately studied by those who wish for full information concerning Hampden's parliamentary life.



THE history of Laud is in a manner the history both of church and state in England for some twenty or more most memorable years ; and if it were to be written with a copiousness corresponding to the quantity of the materials, volumes on volumes might be filled with it. Indeed it does actually stand recorded in several folios. Besides State Trials, and Parliamentary History, and Strafford Letters, and other collections of State Papers, in which he fills much space, there is the history of his 'Life and Death' in one folio volume, by Dr. Peter Heylin, and that of his 'Troubles and Trial' in another, considerably larger, edited from his own papers by the learned Henry Wharton. We have his own Diary, besides many of his letters, and a mass of other authentic documents. The facts of the greater part of his history therefore are before us in extraordinary distinctness. Whatever we may think of him, there he is, the man and his acts, still, if we choose, almost as plainly to be



LAUD.



seen by us as by his contemporaries. Some things respecting him, indeed, we know better than they did. His life was more than most lives passed in the light, and few have had the light so unsparingly let in upon them as he has had even in his deepest privacies. We have his written words intended only for the eye of the most intimate friendship, or for no eye but his own. We ought not to forget, in judging him, this trying ordeal through which it has been his fate to be made to pass.

Curiously enough, in all this plentiful supply of information, nobody appears to know the Christian name of Laud's father. Laud himself has not recorded it in his own Diary, which begins by telling us merely that he was born on the 7th of October, 1573, at Reading, as if he had been literally an *autochthon, terræ filius*, or "gum of the earth," as one of his brother bishops, Field of Llandaff, calls himself in a begging letter to the universal patron the Duke of Buckingham, which is preserved in the Cabala, and is one of the greatest curiosities which have come down to us from that age. "Myself, a gum of the earth," says Field insinuatingly, "whom some eight years ago you raised out of the dust for raising but a thought so high as to serve your highness." But Laud was not of this self-abasing temper. He had no pleasure in looking back from his elevated fortunes upon the comparative humility of his origin. His biographer Heylin tells us that the libellers, who no doubt knew what would sting him, used frequently to upbraid him in the days of his greatness with his mean birth. Once Heylin found him walking in his garden at Lambeth "with more than ordinary trouble in his countenance," "of which," continues our author, "not having confidence enough to inquire the reason, he showed me a paper in his hand, and told me it was a printed sheet of a scandalous libel which had been stopped at the press, in which he found himself reproached with so base a parentage as if he had been raked out of the dunghill; adding withal, that though he had not the good fortune to be born a gentleman, yet he thanked God he had been born of honest parents, who lived in a plentiful con-

dition, employed many poor people in their way, and left a good report behind him." After some little time, seeing his countenance beginning to clear up, ready Heylin told him the story of Pope Sixtus the Fifth, who used to say that he was *domo natus illustri*, "because the sunbeams, passing through the broken walls and ragged roof, *illustrated* every corner of that homely cottage in which he was born." The Latin words, which would be naturally translated *born of an illustrious house or family*, will also bear this other interpretation, however strange it may sound to the English reader. And the facetious anecdote, thus aptly applied, quite succeeded, we are assured, in restoring the equanimity of the ruffled prelate.

Laud's father, whatever was his name, was a master cloth-worker, and is described as having been well to do in the world. "He kept," says Heylin, "not only many looms in his house, but many weavers, spinners, and fullers at continual work; living in good esteem and reputation amongst his neighbours to the very last." His son, named William, was his only child; but his wife had been married before to another Reading clothier, John Robinson, by whom she had had a family. She was a Lucy Webb, sister to Sir William Webb, who was lord mayor of London in 1591. Of her children by Robinson, half-brothers and half-sisters of the archbishop, his biographer mentions a William, the youngest son, who became a doctor of divinity, prebend of Westminster, and archdeacon of Nottingham; and two daughters, married, the one to a Dr. Cotsford, the other to a Dr. Layfield. It is possible that these relations of Laud's may have prospered the better in the world for their connection with him; but his uncle at least, the lord mayor, had made his way to eminence long before the great churchman had got upon the ladder of preferment. It is more likely that he may have been of service to some later Webbs and Robinsons: Heylin speaks of a grandson of the lord mayor, also a Sir William Webb, as having died not long before he wrote, that is to say, perhaps, about the time of the Restoration; and his book, pub-

lished posthumously, in 1671, is dedicated by his son to a Sir John Robinson, Bart., his majesty's lieutenant of the Tower of London, who is addressed as nearly related to the subject of it, and who may therefore be presumed to have been a descendant of Laud's mother's first husband.

Laud, who appears to have been designed for the church from his boyhood, was sent first to the free grammar-school of his native town; whence, in July, 1589, before he was sixteen, "which," Heylin remarks, "was very early for those times," he was sent to Oxford, and entered a commoner of St. John's. Here his tutor was Mr. Buckridge, one of the fellows, a zealous opponent of Puritanism, which had troubled the church almost from the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, and, for all that could be done to keep it down, was evidently enough growing stronger every day. Buckridge's teaching was not thrown away upon Laud.

The events noted in his *Diary* for the next ten or twelve years are: that he was chosen a scholar of his college in June, 1590, and admitted a fellow in June, 1593; that his father died on Wednesday, 11th April, 1594; that he proceeded bachelor of arts in June of that year; that in 1596 he had a great sickness, and in 1597 another (he had also been brought to death's door by an illness in his infancy); that in July, 1598, he took his degree of master of arts, and the same year was grammar reader; that at the end of that year he fell into another great sickness; that his mother died 24th November, 1600; that on the 4th of January, 1601, he was ordained deacon, and priest on the 5th of April thereafter.

He had already obtained a considerable academic reputation, and, having been admitted in 1602 to read a divinity lecture then maintained in his college, in which he acquitted himself to general satisfaction, he became next year a candidate for the proctorship of the university, and obtained it. In this year, 1603, Heylin says he publicly maintained, either in his divinity lecture or in some other chapel exercise, his famous doctrine of the perpetual visibility of the church, as derived from the

Apostles to the Church of Rome, and continued in that church till the Reformation. The proclamation of these opinions brought him at once into open collision with the dominant party in the University, headed by Dr. George Abbot, Master of University College (afterwards archbishop of Canterbury), who was then vice-chancellor. Abbot did not profess to deny the constant visibility of the church, or the apostolical succession; but he held a different theory of it, "tracing it," says Heylin contemptuously, "as well as he could from the Berengarians to the Albigenses, from the Albigenses to the Wickliffists, from the Wickliffists unto the Hussites, and from the Hussites unto Luther and Calvin." From the two systems sprung what were called High Church and Low Church principles and parties at a later date. Heylin affirms, on the authority of Laud himself, that he was so violently persecuted by Abbot, and so openly branded by him for a papist, or at least one very popishly inclined, "that it was almost made an heresy for any one to be seen in his company, and a misprision of heresy for any one to give him a civil salutation as he walked the streets." He had followed up his lecture or sermon of 1603 by maintaining the next year, in his exercise for bachelor of divinity, the necessity both of baptism and of bishops, and again by a sermon preached in St. Mary's church on the 21st of October, 1606, for which he was called to account by Dr. Airy, then vice-chancellor, as being in some passages a declaration of downright popery; "the good man," says Heylin, "taking all things to be matter of popery which were not held forth unto him in Calvin's *Institutes*."

But shortly before this Laud had got into a scrape of another kind. Under the year 1605 we find him noting in his Diary: "My cross about the Earl of Devon's marriage," with a very particular specification of the day, as the 26th of December, a Thursday. He had, in September, 1603, been made chaplain to Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, recently created Earl of Devon; and had been persuaded on that St. Stephen's day two years after to solemnize a marriage between his noble patron

and the beautiful Lady Rich, divorced from the Lord Rich for adultery with the earl. It is quite clear, whatever Heylin may endeavour to make out, that herein Laud acted against his principles, or convictions of what was right; he confesses as much in the penitential prayer which his apologist quotes: "Behold," he there says, "I am become a reproach to thy holy name, by serving my ambition and the sins of others; which though I did by the persuasion of other men, yet my own conscience did check and upbraid me in it." There can be no reasonable doubt that, in consistency with the rest of his theological system, he held the doctrine of the absolute indissolubility of the sacrament of marriage, and he must therefore be considered to have performed that solemnity between Lord Devon and Lady Rich, and so sanctioned their living together, while he believed her to be the wife of another man. He was afterwards accustomed to observe the festival of St. Stephen as a day of fasting and humiliation; but even from the account of his eulogistic biographer it would rather appear that he did not arrive at this clear sense of his fault till after all his expectations from his noble patron had been brought to an end by the earl's death, which took place before the end of the following year.

Notwithstanding his repentance, too, the affair was long a standing reproach against him, and, his biographer intimates, materially retarded his preferment. Yet he cannot be said to have been entirely neglected. In November, 1607, he was inducted into the vicarage of Stamford, in Northamptonshire; the advowson of North Kilworth, in Leicestershire, was given to him, as he records, in April, 1608, in which year he proceeded Doctor of Divinity, and became chaplain to Neile, Bishop of Rochester; in 1609 he exchanged North Kilworth for West Tilbury, in Essex, to be near his new patron; and in September of the same year he made his *début* as a courtier, by preaching before the king at Theobalds. In May, 1610, his friend the Bishop of Rochester preferred him to the rectory of Cuckstone, in Kent, which he exchanged in November for Norton, in the

same county, as a healthier residence. Meanwhile Neile had in September been translated to Lichfield, and in October Laud resigned his fellowship, "that so," says his biographer, "he might more fully apply himself to the service of his lord and patron, whose fortunes he was resolved to follow till God should please to provide otherwise for him." Neile had held the Deanery of Westminster *in commendam* with his late bishopric; and before resigning it he obtained for his friend, from the king, the reversion of a prebend in that church; "which," says Heylin, "though it fell not to him till ten years after, yet it fell at last, and thereby neighboured him to the court." But Neile's translation proved also immediately beneficial to Laud, for the new Bishop of Rochester was his old tutor and steady friend Buckridge, and he had influence, in spite of all that Abbot (now Bishop of London, and within a few months to be elevated to the primacy) could do to prevent it, to get Laud elected his successor in the presidentship of St. John's. He obtained this office in May, 1611, and in November of the same year he was sworn one of his majesty's chaplains in ordinary. It is true that he appears also to have met with some crosses and disappointments in the course of these years; we read in his Diary of his "unfortunateness with T.;" and of his "next unfortunateness with E. M.;" and of a third "unfortunateness by S. B.;" with sundry other notices of stays, and troubles, and fits of sickness. The first entry, under date of 1612, is of another "unfortunateness by S. S.;" and the second, of another with A. D.; in January, 1613, began his "great business with G. B.," which "settled as it could in March;" and April, 1614, was signalized by the beginning of his "great misfortune by M. S.," and also by "a most fierce salt rheum" in his left eye, "like to have endangered it." But on the other side of the account we find him noting that in the same month his friend Neile, now Bishop of Lincoln, gave him the prebend of Bugden in that church. Heylin informs us that the bishop did this "to keep him up in heart and spirit," when he was sinking under the disappointment of his hopes of court preferment; for, it

seems, "whenever any opportunity was offered for his advancement, Archbishop Abbot would be sure to cast somewhat in his dish: sometimes inculcating to him (that is, objecting against him to the king) all his actings at Oxon, and sometimes rubbing up the old sore of his unfortunate business with the Earl of Devonshire." In his despair Laud was upon the point of returning to his college; but Neile prevailed with him to try one year longer, and, for further encouragement, in December, 1615, conferred upon him the archdeaconry of Huntingdon. At last, "before the year of expectation was fully ended," to adopt Heylin's words, "his majesty began to take him into his better thoughts, and for a testimony thereof bestowed upon him the deanery of Gloucester." The king gave him this in November, 1616; and he now resigned his parsonage of Tilbury.

In March, 1617, James set out on a visit to his native kingdom, his main object being to bring the Scots to conformity with the English model in regard to religion; "a matter," observes Heylin, "of consequence and weight, and therefore to be managed by able ministers, such as knew how to wind and turn the Presbyterians of that kingdom, if matters should proceed to a disputation." Laud, esteemed a person of eminent theological learning and polemical ability, was one of those selected to accompany his majesty; but when James came to Edinburgh, "he soon found," says Heylin, "that he might have saved himself a great part of his care, and taken such of his chaplains with him as came next to hand; the Presbyterian Scots not being to be gained by reason, as he had supposed. For he was scarce settled in that city, when the Presbyters, conceiving that his coming was upon design to work a uniformity between the churches of both kingdoms, set up one Struthers to preach against it, who laid so lustily about him in the chief church of Edinburgh, that he not only condemned the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, but prayed God to save Scotland from the same. Laud, and the rest of the chaplains who had heard the sermon, acquainted his majesty with those passages: but there was

no remedy: the Scots were Scots, and resolved to go their own way, whatsoever came of it." Laud returned in the autumn; and on his way home was inducted into the rectory of Ibstock, in the county of Leicester, a living in the patronage of his friend Bishop Buckridge, who let him have it in exchange for Norton.

He then rested as he was for some time. At last, in January, 1621, he came into the enjoyment of the prebendal stall in Westminster, of which he had secured the reversion ten years before. And greater things followed fast. His own statement is, that on the 3rd of June his majesty made a gracious speech to him concerning his long service, being pleased to say that he had given him nothing but Gloucester, which he well knew was a shell without a kernel; and that the sequel was his receiving a grant of the bishopric of St. David's on the 29th of the same month. But the most particular and curious account of the way in which the affair was managed is given in Bishop Hacket's 'Life of Archbishop Williams.' Williams, who was Dean of Westminster, had recently been made Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and had soon after been raised to the Bishopric of Lincoln, holding his deanery *in commendam*, and retaining also his other preferments, of a prebend and residentiary canonship in the cathedral of Lincoln, and the rectory of Walgrave in Northamptonshire; "so that," as Heylin puts it, "he was a perfect diocese within himself; as being bishop, dean, prebend residentiary, and parson, and all these at once." Williams, in this the height of his court favour (for it was the king himself who had selected him for the great seal), was earnestly applied to by Buckingham, to whom Laud, like everybody else, had paid court, to commend the latter to his majesty. Buckingham's instructions to Williams were, not to fear giving offence in urging this suit, and not to desist for a little storm. Having watched his opportunity, "when the king's affections," says Hacker, "were most still and pacificous," Williams besought his majesty to think considerately of his chaplain the doctor, whose merits he urged with much earnestness. "Well," said the king, "I perceive whose

attorney you are ; Stenny (Buckingham) hath set you on. You have pleaded the man a good Protestant, and I believe it ; neither did that stick in my breast when I stopt his promotion. But was there not a certain lady that forsook her husband, and married a lord that was her paramour ? Who tied that knot ? Shall I make a man a prelate, one of the angels of my church, who hath a flagrant crime upon him ?” Williams declared that the doctor was heartily penitent for his share in this transaction ; besides, he asked James who would dare to serve him, good master as he was, if he would not pardon one fault, even if it should be of a scandalous magnitude ? “ You press well,” replied his majesty, “ and I hear you with patience ; neither will I revive a trespass any more which repentance hath mortified and buried ; and because I see I shall not be rid of you unless I tell you my unpublished cogitations, the plain truth is, that I keep Laud back from all place of rule and authority because I find he hath a restless spirit, and cannot see when matters are well, but loves to toss and change, and to bring things to a pitch of reformation floating in his own brain, which may endanger the steadfastness of that which is in a good pass, God be praised. I speak not at random ; he hath made himself known to me to be such a one. For when, three years since, I had obtained of the Assembly of Perth to consent to five articles of order and decency in correspondence with this church of England, I gave them promise, by attestation of faith made, that I would try their obedience no farther in ecclesiastic affairs, nor put them out of their own way, which custom has made pleasing unto them, with any new encroachments. Yet this man hath pressed me to invite them to a nearer conjunction with the liturgy and canons of this nation ; but I sent him back again with the frivolous draught he had drawn. . . . For all this, he feared not mine anger, but assaulted me again with another ill-fangled platform to make that stubborn kirk stoop more to the English pattern ; but I durst not play fast and loose with my word. He knows not the stomach of that people ; but I ken the story of my grandmother, the queen-regent, that,

after she was inveigled to break her promise, made to some mutineers at a Perth meeting, she never saw good day, but from thence, being much beloved before, was despised of all the people. And now your importunity hath compelled me to shrive myself thus unto you, I think you are at your farthest, and have no more to say for your client." Williams, however, as he had been instructed, did not allow this characteristic oration to put him down; he still urged that Laud, notwithstanding "the very audacious and very unbecoming attempt" mentioned by his majesty, was "of a great and tractable wit," and if he fell into an error would, at least as soon as any man, find a way to get out of it. And his pertinacity was successful. James, impatiently asking if there was nothing he could say that was not to have its answer, exclaimed, "Here, take him to you, but on my soul you will repent it." "And so," concludes Hacket, "went away in anger, using other fierce and ominous words, which were divulged in the court, and are too tart to be repeated."

Thus was Laud at last made a bishop. He was formally elected by the chapter on the 10th of October, 1621, a few days after entering his forty-ninth year. The king had given him leave to hold the presidentship of St. John's *in commendam* with his bishopric; "but by reason," he writes in his Diary, "of the strictness of that statute, which I will not violate, nor my oath to it, under any colour, I am resolved before my consecration to leave it." And he did resign it accordingly. It is worth noticing, that Laud's great enemy Prynne, in the edition of the Diary which he very unhandsomely published in September, 1644, while the archbishop yet lived, had the dishonesty to omit all notice of this resignation; so that even Laud's biographer Heylin, who wrote before the Diary was published in its integrity by Wharton, in 1695, represents him as retaining his college office with his bishopric. Laud himself, with all his passion, precipitation, and short-sightedness, never committed anything so thoroughly base as this suppression of the truth by the great Puritan lawyer and patriot.

In the next year, 1622, Laud obtained much reputation by a conference or disputation which he maintained on the 24th of May, in presence of his majesty and other distinguished personages, with Fisher the Jesuit. Fisher had been for some time attempting to make a Roman Catholic of the Countess of Buckingham, mother of the duke (or rather marquis only, as yet); and it was apprehended that, if he should succeed, her son also would be very likely to go over to the old religion. But both at this public conference, at which the countess and the marquis were present, and in private discourse with the lady, Laud acquitted himself so ably as to satisfy her upon every point, and thus to avert what was looked upon by many as a serious national danger. Buckingham also from this time took him into his most intimate confidence. "Being Whit-Monday," he records, under date of June 9th, "my lord Marquess Buckingham was pleased to enter upon a near respect to me: the particulars are not for paper." And under June 15th he enters, "I became C. to my Lord of Buckingham" (meaning, it is supposed, confessor). All the notices in the Diary of this affair are carefully suppressed by Prynne, one of whose objects was to represent the archbishop as having been all his life a thorough papist. Laud himself published in 1624 an account of his argument with Fisher. He notes that he had not previously appeared in print.

In January, 1623, Laud was inducted into the parsonage of Creeke, in the diocese of Peterborough, which he was permitted to hold *in commendam*, with his not very well endowed Welch bishopric. But the new reign, which began in March, 1625, when he was in his fifty-second year, was the beginning to him of new fortunes.

Yet his own account informs us that attempts were at first made to prejudice the royal mind against him. Under date of Saturday, 9th of April, he writes, "The Duke of Buckingham, whom, upon all accounts I am bound for ever to honour, signified to me that a certain person, moved through I know not what envy, had blackened my name with his majesty King Charles; lay-

ing hold, for that purpose, of the error into which, by I know not what fate, I had formerly fallen in the business of Charles, Earl of Devonshire, 1605, December 26.”* He was too strong, however, in the favour of the royal favourite and most powerful man in the kingdom, to be injured now by this stale story. At the coronation, on the 2nd of February, 1626, he officiated as dean of Westminster, in room of Bishop Williams, who had for the present passed into the shade, and whom Charles would not have to take part in the ceremony, so that he was obliged to make Laud, whom he cordially hated, his deputy. On the 6th of March thereafter he resigned his parsonage of Ibstock; on the 20th of June he was nominated to the bishopric of Bath and Wells; in the beginning of October he was appointed to the office of dean of the Chapel Royal, vacant by the death of Bishop Andrews; in the end of April, 1627, he was sworn a privy counsellor, which in those days implied that he was to take an actual share in the government of the kingdom; and in July, 1628, Charles succeeded in having him placed in the see of London, though not till after some months had been spent in getting room made for him by the removal of Bishop Mountain, which proved almost as difficult as if he had been a real mountain that had to be got out of the way. The scheme was that Mountain should go to Durham, from which Neile, Laud’s friend, was transferred to succeed Andrews at Winchester; but having spent a great part of his life, as Heylin expresses it, “in the air of the court,” he looked upon such a relegation to the cold regions of the North as “the worst kind of banishment, next neighbour to a civil death;” however, before he was Bishop of Durham more than in form, the death of Dr. Toby Matthews, archbishop of York, made another opening for him, with which he was better satisfied; so that he presided over three sees in succession in that year; and he died before the end of it.

Laud had already made himself so unpopular by his

* The entry is in Latin: the translation is Wharton’s.

apparent preference of ceremonies to spiritual religion, and his severe, not to say violent measures against puritanism, as well as by his intimate connexion with Buckingham, that when the House of Commons which met in March, 1628, fell upon the duke, voting him to be the great cause of all the grievances in the kingdom, they also drew up a remonstrance to the king, in which, among other matters, they denounced Laud and his friend Neile as unsound in their theological opinions, and the authors or principal promoters of sundry innovations of a Romish character in the services of the church. To this admonition, however, he paid no heed. The parliament rose on the 26th of June, and on the 23rd of August Buckingham was assassinated. In April, 1630, Laud was chosen their Chancellor by the University of Oxford. A few months later occurred the first of several notorious cases of Laud's ferocity of procedure in the High Commission Court,—that of Dr. Alexander Leighton, “a Scot by birth, a doctor of physick by profession, a fiery Puritan in faction,” is Heylin's description of him—who was brought before the court for publishing a tract entitled ‘An Appeal to the Parliament; or, Zion's Plea against Prelacy,’ and was sentenced to pay a fine of 10,000*l.*, to be twice set in the pillory and whipped, to have his ears cut off and his nose slit, to be branded in the face with the letters S. S. (for Sower of Sedition), and to be imprisoned in the Fleet for the remainder of his life. This barbarous sentence was executed in all its parts; and Leighton (who was the father of the learned, eloquent, and admirable Archbishop Leighton, who held the see of Glasgow in the next age) lay in prison for ten years. On Sunday the 16th of January of the next year, 1630, took place Laud's famous consecration of the church of St. Catherine Cree, London, on the north side of Leadenhall Street, Prynne's satirical and probably somewhat exaggerated account of which, in his ‘Canterbury's Doom’ (1646), has been in substance incorporated by Hume in his History, and is familiar to most readers. As a sample both of Laud and of Prynne, we will quote the concluding paragraph

in the original words :—" When the bishop approached near the communion-table, he bowed with his nose very near the ground six or seven times ; then he came to one of the corners of the table, and there bowed himself three times ; then to the second and third, bowing at each three times ; but when he came to the side of the table where the bread and wine were, he bowed himself seven times : and then, after the reading of many prayers by himself, and his two fat chaplains which were with him, and all this while upon their knees by him, in their surplices, hoods, and tippets, he himself came near the bread, which was laid in a fine napkin ; and then he gently lifted up one of the corners of the napkin, like a boy that peeped into a bird's nest in a bush, and presently clapped it down again, and flew back a step or two, and then bowed very low three times towards it and the table. When he beheld the bread, then he came near, and opened the napkin again, and bowed as before ; then he laid his hand upon the gilt cup, which was full of wine, with a cover upon it : so soon as he had pulled the cup a little nearer to him, he let the cup go, flew back, and bowed again three times towards it : then he came near again, and, lifting up the cover of the cup, peeped into it ; and seeing the wine, he let fall the cover on it again, flew nimbly back, and bowed as before. After these, and many other apish antic gestures, he himself receded, and then gave the sacrament to some principal men only, they devoutly kneeling near the table ; after which more prayers being said, this scene and interlude ended." Impossible as it may be for most modern readers to enter fully into the spirit of the kind of devotion practised on this and other occasions by Laud, and discordant with the reigning popular feeling as it was even in his own day, so that his attempt to revive it was a great miscalculation and blunder, it is to our taste, we confess, at least as respectable as Prynne's wit.

Prynne, however, it must be confessed, had had something to make his bitterness excusable. For his famous ' *Histrio-mastyx*,' an attack upon stage-plays, in one passage of which he was accused of having reflected upon

the queen, he was, in 1633, sentenced in the court of Star-Chamber to pay a fine of 5000*l.*, to be expelled the University of Oxford, and the society of Lincoln's Inn, to be degraded and for ever disabled from exercising his profession of the law, to stand twice in the pillory, to have both his ears cut off, and to suffer perpetual imprisonment. And after he had had his ears sewed on again, he was a second time brought up before the same court in June, 1637, for a pamphlet which he had published since his incarceration, and sentenced to have them again shorn off, to stand in the pillory as before, and to be branded on both cheeks with the letters S. L. (for Schismatical Libeller). He was accordingly consigned to Caernarvon Castle, whence he was afterwards removed to Mount Orgueil Castle, in the isle of Jersey; and there he lay till he was released, with other victims of the Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission, by an order of the House of Commons, in November, 1640. It was at the same time that Prynne received his second sentence that similar sentences were passed upon Dr. John Bastwick, a physician (who had also been fined and otherwise punished for a former book in 1633), for a publication in which he had reflected upon the bishops; and upon the Rev. Henry Burton, Rector of St. Matthew's Church, Friday-street, London, for two sermons which he had preached, and a pamphlet which, after he had been thrown into prison on account of the sermons, he had published in their vindication. Bastwick lay in one of the Scilly islands, and Burton in the island of Guernsey, until they were released along with Prynne.

Meanwhile Laud had been mounting higher and higher. In June, 1632, he had got his dependant, or at least his intimate friend, Mr. Francis Windbank, made Secretary of State; he notes in his Diary that he had obtained the place for him of the king. We may mention here that Windbank was afterwards charged by the parliament with having been a confederate of Laud's in his tyrannical and papistical system, but escaped destruction by flying to the continent. About three weeks after Windbank's appointment he got another firm ally,

Dr. Juxon, Dean of Worcester, made Clerk of the Closet; he had sued for this, he tells us, that he might have some one whom he could trust near his majesty, if he should himself grow weak and infirm: "as," he adds, "I must have a time." In 1633 he attended the king on his visit to Scotland; on the 15th of June he was sworn of the Privy Council of that country; and on the 4th of August, a few days after his return to London, news came to court of the death that morning of Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury; on which, he tells us, the king resolved presently to give him the place. "That very morning," he also states, "at Greenwich there came one to me seriously, and that avowed ability to perform it, and offered me to be a cardinal. I went presently to the king, and acquainted him both with the thing and the person." About a fortnight afterwards, this offer was renewed: "but," says he, "my answer again was, that something dwelt within me which would not suffer that till Rome were other than it is." On the 14th of September he was chosen Chancellor of the University of Dublin; and on the 19th of the same month he was translated to the archbishopric and the primacy of the English church.

To these ecclesiastical and academical preferments and honours were added others of a less professional sort. On the 5th of February, 1635, he was made a member of the Committee of Trade and Revenue; on the 14th of March, upon the death of the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Portland, he was named one of the Commissioners for the Exchequer; and two days after, he was called by the king into the Foreign Committee, that is, into the Committee of the Privy Council for foreign affairs. But his crowning triumph was achieved when, on the 6th of March in the following year, 1636, he got his friend Juxon, already Bishop of London, appointed to the office of lord high treasurer of England. "No churchman," he writes with manifest satisfaction, "had it since Henry VII.'s time. I pray God bless him to carry it so that the church may have honour, and the king and the state service and contentment by it. And now, if the church

will not hold up themselves, under God I can do no more."

But all this greatness was suddenly brought to an end by some of the first proceedings of the ever-memorable parliament which assembled on the 3rd of November, 1640. On the 18th of December, Denzil Hollis, by order of the House of Commons, impeached Laud of high treason and other high crimes and misdemeanours, at the bar of the House of Lords. On the 26th of February, 1641, the articles of impeachment, twenty-six in number, were brought up by Sir Harry Vane, the younger. He was specially charged with having advised his majesty that he might levy money on his subjects without consent of parliament; with attempting to establish absolute power not only in the king, but in himself and other bishops, above and against the laws; with perverting the course of justice by bribes and promises to the judges; with the imposition of divers new ecclesiastical canons, containing matters contrary both to the laws and the royal prerogative; with assuming a papal and tyrannical power in matters both ecclesiastical and temporal; with endeavouring to subvert the true religion and to introduce popish superstition; and with being the principal adviser and author of the late war against the Scots. On the 23rd of October, at the instigation of his old enemy Williams, now become a great man again, Laud's archiepiscopal jurisdiction was sequestered by the House of Lords, and made over to his inferior officers. About a year after, all the rents and profits of his archbishopric, in common with those of all other archbishoprics, bishoprics, deaneries, and cathedral offices, were sequestered for the use of the commonwealth. On the 9th of May, 1643, all his goods in Lambeth Palace, his books included, were seized. Soon after, his room and person were searched by Prynne, under the authority of a warrant from the House of Commons, and his Diary and all his other papers taken from him. All this while, with the exception of a few months at first, during which he was left in the custody of Mr. Maxwell, Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, he had been

confined in the Tower. At last, on the 12th of March, 1644, he was brought to trial before the lords assembled, as usual, in Westminster Hall. Prynne says in his 'History of the Trial,' that "he made as full, as gallant, as pithy a defence of so bad a cause, and spake as much for himself as was possible for the wit of man to invent; and that with much art, sophistry, vivacity, oratory, audacity, and confidence, without the least blush, or acknowledgment of guilt in any thing." It seemed very doubtful if the lords, overawed as they were, would have consented to condemn him; at the end of the trial, which lasted twenty days, they adjourned without coming to a vote on the question of his guilt or innocence; and in this state matters remained till the Commons, abandoning their impeachment, resorted to another method of effecting their object. An ordinance, or bill, for his attainder was brought into the House on the 13th of November, and two days after was passed and immediately sent up to the Lords. They too, at last, passed it in a very thin house, on the 4th of January; and on the 10th Laud was, in conformity with this law overriding all law, beheaded on Tower Hill. He met his death with great firmness.

Thus fell Laud; and, as Heylin observes, the church fell with him. "Of stature," writes that sympathizing, but not indiscriminatingly admiring biographer, towards the close of his narrative, "he was low, but of a strong composition; so short a trunk contained so much excellent treasure. . . . His countenance cheerful and well bloodied: more fleshy, as I have often heard him say, than any other part of his body; which cheerfulness and vivacity he carried with him to the very block, notwithstanding the afflictions of four years' imprisonment, and the infelicity of the times. . . . A gallant spirit being for the most part like the sun, which shows the greater at his setting. . . . Of apprehension he was quick and sudden, of a very sociable wit, and a pleasant humour, and one that knew as well how to put off the gravity of his place and person when he saw occasion, as any living man whatsoever. Accessible enough at all

times, but when he was tired out with multiplicity and vexation of business, which some who did not understand him ascribed unto the natural ruggedness of his disposition." He built an hospital in his native town of Reading, and was a munificent benefactor to the University of Oxford in various ways ; and Heylin mentions that these good works exhausted all the fortune he had made himself master of "in so long a time of power and greatness, wherein he had the principal managing of affairs both in church and state."

Archbishop Laud's literary works, besides his account of the conference with Fisher, already mentioned, which has been several times printed, are Seven Sermons, originally published separately in 4to, and then collected and printed together in one 8vo. volume, at London, in 1651 ; his Diary and History of his Troubles and Trial, together with some other pieces published by Wharton in 1695 ; and his History of his Chancellorship of Oxford, &c., forming the second volume of that work, published in 1700.



JOHN SELDEN was born at Salvington, near Worthing, in the county of Sussex, December 16, 1584. His father, according to Wood, "was a sufficient plebeian," who, through some skill in music, obtained as his wife Margaret Baker, a daughter of a knightly family of the county of Kent. The baptism of his eminent son, as well as his own musical talents, are noticed in an existing parish registry in these words: "1584,—Johnne, sonne of John Selden, the minstrell, was baptised the XXXth day of December." The house in which the family lived was called Lacies, and the estate of the father consisted, in 1606, of eighty-one acres, of the annual value of about twenty-three pounds. John Selden, the son, received his early education at the free grammar-school of Chichester. At the age of fourteen he entered at Hart Hall, Oxford, a foundation since merged in Magdalen Hall, Oxford. After residing four years at the University, he was admitted, in 1602, a member of



JOHN LOCKE

Clifford's Inn, London, one of the dependencies of the greater Inns of Court, in which students of law were formerly accustomed to commence their legal education. He removed in May, 1604, to the Inner Temple. His attention appears to have been early drawn to the study of civil and legal history, and antiquities; he did not court the more active business of his profession, and his employment at the bar was limited. In 1607 he prepared for the press his first work, entitled '*Analecton Anglo-Britannicon*,' being a collection of civil and ecclesiastical matters relating to Britain, of a date anterior to the Norman Conquest. This was soon followed by three other works of a similar character, and in 1614 he printed his '*Treatise upon Titles of Honour*.' The last of these works has been considered in our courts of law to be of great authority, and has been usually spoken of with much commendation. Pursuing his legal inquiries, he edited, in 1616, two treatises, one of Sir John Fortescue, the other of Sir Ralph Hengham, and in the same year wrote a '*Discourse on the Office of Lord Chancellor*.' In the next year he printed a work, '*De Diis Syris*,' which added to his celebrity, but is not compiled with that attention to the value of the respective authorities cited, so essentially necessary to the accurate consideration of historical questions. His next work was a '*History of Tithes*,' printed in 1618, which excited against him the bitter hostility of the clergy. The doctrine of divine right, as the foundation of many ecclesiastical claims, was at this time jealously maintained, and was considered to be peculiarly connected with the right of the clergy to tithes. Selden drew no direct conclusion against the divine nature of the right to tithes, but he had so arranged his authorities as to render such a conclusion inevitable. The nature only of the title was contested, and so far from the clergy having had any reason to look upon Selden as an enemy, he in fact strengthened their claim to tithes by placing it upon the same footing as any ordinary title to property. As soon as the '*History*' appeared it was attacked. The High Commission Court summoned Selden before it, and to

this tribunal he was compelled to apologise. The terms of his submission very accurately state the offence, and are expressive of regret that "he had offered any occasion of argument against any right of maintenance *jure divino* of the ministers of the gospel." The work received several answers, but Selden was forbidden by James I., under a threat of imprisonment, to notice them. "All that will," said he, "have liberty, and some use it, to write and preach what they will against me, to abuse my name, my person, my profession, with as many falsehoods as they please, and my hands are tied : I must not so much as answer their calumnies. I am so far from writing more, that I have scarcely ventured for my own safety so much as to say they abuse me, though I know it."

Hardly had this storm passed, when he became involved in the disputes between the Crown and the House of Commons. One of the earliest steps of that body, upon the convocation of Parliament in 1621, was to present a remonstrance on the state of public affairs. This was succeeded by the memorable protestation of December 18, 1621, in which the liberty of the subject was asserted, and the right of the Commons to offer advice to the Crown was insisted on. This protestation was erased from the journals of the House by the King's own hands, and the parliament was dissolved. Selden, whose advice, though he was not then a member, had been requested by the House in this dispute, was in consequence imprisoned, and detained in confinement five weeks. His release was owing to the intercession of Bishop Williams, who represented him to be "a man who hath excellent parts, which might be diverted from an affectation of pleasing idle people, to do some good and useful service to his Majesty." On his release he dedicated to Williams his edition of Eadmer's contemporary 'History of England from the Norman Conquest to the death of Henry I.,' which he had prepared for the press during his confinement.

Selden's first appearance in the House of Commons was as member for Lancaster, for which place he was

returned in the parliament which assembled in 1623, the last Parliament of James I. In this year, on being chosen reader of Lyons Inn, he refused to perform the office, an instance of independence or self-will for which there is no apparent reason. The register of the Inner Temple contains an order passed by the Society in consequence of Selden's refusal, which decided that he should be excluded from ever becoming a bencher. This order, however, was rescinded in 1624.

On the accession of Charles I. a new parliament was called, which assembled at Oxford, but was almost immediately dissolved. In this "*parliamentum vanum*," as it was called, Selden sat for Great Bedwin. In the next parliament, which was summoned almost immediately afterwards, he again sat for Great Bedwin. The Commons immediately entered upon a consideration of the conduct of the Duke of Buckingham, and his impeachment being resolved on, Selden was one of the members appointed to prepare the articles, and was named a manager for their prosecution. These proceedings were stopped by another dissolution of parliament, in June, 1626. But the necessities of the Crown requiring those supplies which parliament refused without a redress of grievances, forced loans were resorted to in the exercise of certain pretended powers of the prerogative. In several instances these loans were refused; among others by Sir Edward Hampden and four others, who were imprisoned in consequence; and the illegality of their commitment was very ably argued by Selden in the Kings Bench. They were brought before the court by a writ of Habeas Corpus, but Selden and his fellow-counsel were unsuccessful in their endeavours to obtain the discharge of the prisoners, who were all remanded on the judgment of Hyde. In the third parliament, called by Charles I. in 1628, Selden sat for the borough of Ludgershall; and in the debates which immediately took place upon illegal commitments, the levy of tonnage and poundage, and the preparation of the Petition of Rights, he took a very active share. The attack upon the Duke of Bucking-

ham was renewed, and it was proposed by Selden that judgment should be demanded against him upon the impeachment of the former parliament. As affecting a great constitutional question, only finally determined in 1791, of the continuance of impeachments, notwithstanding a dissolution of parliament, the suggestion was remarkable. Further proceedings were, however, stopped by Felton's assassination of the duke.

During the prorogation of parliament Selden again devoted himself to literary pursuits. The Earl of Arundel, a great lover and promoter of the arts, had received from the East many ancient marbles, having on them Greek inscriptions. At the request of Sir Robert Cotton these inscriptions were transcribed under the superintendence of Selden, and were published under the title of '*Marmora Arundeliana*.'

In January, 1629, parliament again assembled, and the debates upon public grievances were renewed. The goods of several merchants, in the interval of the meeting of parliament, had been seized by the crown, to satisfy a claim to the duty of tonnage and poundage. Among the sufferers was Rolls, a member of the House. It was moved that the seizure of his goods was a breach of privilege. When the question was to be put, the Speaker said "he durst not, for that the King had commanded to the contrary." Selden immediately rose, and vehemently complained of this conduct: "Dare you not, Mr. Speaker, to put the question when we command you? If you will not put it, we must sit still: thus, we shall never be able to do anything. They that come after you may say that they have the King's commands not to do it. We sit here by the command of the King under the great seal, and you are, by his Majesty, sitting in his royal chair before both houses, appointed for our Speaker, and now refuse to do your office." The House then adjourned in a state of great excitement. When it re-assembled the Speaker was called upon to put the question, and again refused. On this Holles and Valentine thrust the Speaker into the chair, and held him down, while Sir Miles Hobart locked the door of the House

and took possession of the key. A declaration was then produced by Sir John Elliot, which Colonel Stroud moved should be read, and himself put the question. The motion was declared to be carried; and the Speaker, refusing to act upon it, was charged by Sir P. Heyman with cutting up the liberty of the subject by the roots. Selden moved that the declaration should be read by the clerk, which was agreed to. The House then adjourned to a day, previous to which the King came to the House of Lords and dissolved the parliament, on account of "the undutiful and seditious carriage of the Lower House," without the attendance of the Commons. Selden, and the other members concerned in the violence offered to the Speaker, were committed to prison. This was his last and most rigorous confinement. For some time he was denied the use of pens, ink, paper, and books. When, after eight months had elapsed, he was brought up with the other prisoners before the King's Bench upon a writ of Habeas Corpus, their discharge was offered upon condition of their finding bail for their good behaviour. "We demand," said Selden, "to be bailed in point of right; and if it be not grantable of right, we do not demand it. But finding sureties for good behaviour is a point of discretion merely, and we cannot assent to it without great offence to the parliament, where these matters, which are surmised by the return, were acted." They were remanded, and remained for a long time in the King's Bench Prison, where Eliot, one of the ablest members of the popular party, fell a victim to his confinement. The restraint, at least as far as Selden was concerned, appears to have been less rigorous than it was previously. This may be inferred from the fact that he was appointed by the students of the Inns of Court to prepare a masque, which they were desirous to represent before the royal family to show their disapprobation of Prynne's '*Histrio-mastix*.' The masque left Ely Place, Holborn, in grand procession, and went down Chancery Lane and along the Strand to Whitehall, where it was performed before the King. During his imprisonment he wrote a treatise, '*De Suc-*

cessionibus in Bona Defuncti secundum Leges Hebræorum, et de Successione in Pontificatum Hebræorum, Libri II.,' which he dedicated to Archbishop Laud; probably upon account of his being indebted to the Archbishop for the loan of books. In 1634 Selden consented to give bail, and was suffered to go at large. A petition to Charles I., to whom Selden appears to have been less obnoxious than most of the others of his party, either through admiration of his learning or from conviction that his natural love of ease and retirement, which Clarendon speaks of, would make him less likely to proceed to violent measures, obtained for him, through the interest of Laud, his entire liberation. He appears soon afterwards to have gained the personal favour of Charles I., and dedicated to him his celebrated essay on the 'Mare Clausum,' an argument in favour of the dominion of the English over the four seas, copies of which were, by order of the Privy Council, directed to be placed in the council chest, the Court of Exchequer, and the Court of Admiralty.

To the Long Parliament, which commenced its sittings in 1640, Selden was unanimously returned by the University of Oxford; but neither this new connexion with the clergy nor the favour of Charles appears to have affected his opinions. Upon the first day of the sitting of parliament he was nominated a member of the committee to inquire into the abuses of the Earl Marshal's Court, and was appointed with others to draw up a remonstrance upon the state of the nation. He also sat upon the committees which conducted the measures preparatory to the impeachment of the Earl of Strafford, but he was not one of the managers before the House of Lords; and his name was posted in Old Palace Yard as one of "the enemies of justice," a title given to those who were regarded as favourable to the Earl. It is not very clear what his opinions upon the impeachment were. That he should have been satisfied with all the steps taken by his party is not possible, for his opinions were undoubtedly moderate, and his studious habits must have checked any disposition to violence. He was also

nominated to frame the articles of impeachment against Laud, and was a party to the resolutions against the legislative powers of the bishops. The court, however, appears to have considered him favourable to its interests, until he spoke against the commission of array. Upon this question Clarendon represents the influence of his opinion upon the public to have been very prejudicial to Charles I. About this time the great seal was offered to him. He declined it, according to Clarendon, on account of his love of ease, and "that he would not have made a journey to York or have been out of his own bed for any preferment." The reason which he himself assigned for refusing it was the impossibility of his rendering any service to the Crown. He sat as member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and took the Covenant; yet he was not well disposed towards the Puritans, and declared that "he was neither mad enough nor fool enough to deserve the name of Puritan." Upon the death of Dr. Eden, Master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, in August, 1645, Selden was elected his successor, but declined to accept the office. About this time he appears to have gradually withdrawn from public business. His fondness of ease and his increasing age, and the silence he preserved upon many important events, all contribute to leave the inference of his approval or disapproval of much of the conduct of the parliamentary leaders open to adverse parties. He certainly never openly abandoned the popular side, nor does he appear to have forfeited its respect; and yet at the same time he continued to be esteemed by many of the leading Royalists.

The studies of Selden were continued to the latest period of his life, and he was near the age of seventy when his last work was published. The influence he possessed with the parliamentary leaders was frequently exerted in favour of letters. When Archbishop Laud's endowment of the professorship of Arabic in the University of Oxford was seized, on the attainder of that prelate, he procured its restitution. When Archbishop Usher, having preached against the divines of Westminster,

ster and excited their anger, was punished by the confiscation of his library, Selden interfered, and saved it from sale and dispersion. When prelacy was abolished, the library attached to the see of Canterbury was by his efforts transferred to the University of Cambridge, where it remained until the Restoration. Through his entreaties, Whitelocke was induced to accept the charge of the medals and books at St. James's, and thus secured their preservation. The services which he rendered to the University of Oxford were no less valuable, and were acknowledged in grateful terms by that learned body; and it was through his interference that the papers and instruments of Graves, the Professor of Mathematics, which had been seized by a party of soldiers, were restored.

Selden died November 30, 1654, and was buried in the Temple church. He left behind him no immediate relations, and he bequeathed nearly the whole of his fortune, amounting to nearly 40,000*l.*, to his four executors, giving only one hundred pounds to each of the children of his sister, the wife of John Barnard, of Goring. His books and manuscripts he had originally given by his will to the University of Oxford; but that body having demanded of him a heavy bond for the restitution of a book which he desired to borrow from the public library, the bequest was struck out, and they were directed to be placed "in some convenient public library or college in one of the universities." Sir M. Hale and his other executors, considering that they were the executors "of his will, and not of his passion," transferred them to the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

To learned men Selden was liberal and generous; and there is a letter from Casaubon in Parr's 'Life of Archbishop Usher,' in which that distinguished scholar with great feeling says, "I was with Mr. Selden after I had been with your Grace, whom, upon some intimation of my present condition and necessities, I found so noble, as that he did not only presently furnish me with a very considerable sum of money, but was so free and forward in his expressions, as that I could not find in my

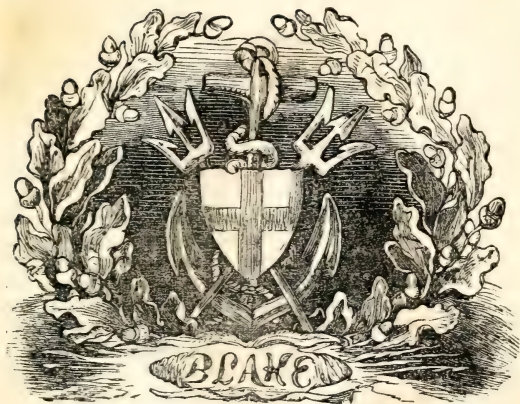
heart to tell him much (somewhat I did) of my intention of selling, lest it should sound as a farther pressing upon him of whom I had received so much."

Milton terms Selden "the chief of learned men reputed in this land;" and Whitelocke states, "that his mind was as great as his learning, being very generous and hospitable." He was intimate with Ben Jonson, who addressed a poetical epistle to him, in which he styles his friend "monarch in letters." Clarendon, who could not regard Selden with any political partiality, though he had in early life been on terms of intimacy with him, describes him to have been "a person whom no character can flatter or transmit in any expressions equal to his merit or virtue. He was of so stupendous learning in all kinds and in all languages (as may appear in his excellent and transcendent writings), that a man would have thought he had been entirely conversant among books, and had never spent an hour but in reading and writing; yet his humanity, courtesy, and affability were such, that he would have been thought to have been bred in the best courts, but that his goodness, charity, and delight in doing good, and in communicating all he knew, exceeded that breeding." Selden's name has been made familiar to the public by a small volume entitled 'Table Talk.' This valuable little collection of acute and learned remarks was first published in 1689, thirty-five years after Selden's death, in a quarto pamphlet with the title of 'Table Talk; being the discourses of John Selden, or his Sense of various matters of Weight and Consequence, relating especially to Religion and State.' The work was compiled by Selden's amanuensis, who states in the dedication that he had the opportunity of hearing Selden's discourses for twenty years together, and that of what is here collected "the sense and notion is wholly his and most of the words."

The motto adopted by Selden was *περὶ παντός τὴν ἐλευθερίαν* (above all things, liberty), and it is to be found neatly written upon the first page of many of his MSS. Its spirit he extended to religious questions;

and there are many bold and vigorous passages in his writings in which the necessity of freedom of inquiry upon all subjects is strongly insisted on. Noticing upon one occasion a certain class of ancient philosophers, he remarks, "He who takes to himself their liberty of inquiry, is in the only way that, in all kinds of studies, leads and lies open even to the sanctuary of Truth; while others, that are servile to common opinion and vulgar suppositions, can rarely hope to be admitted nearer than into the base-court of her temple, which too speciously often counterfeits her innermost sanctuary." From the nature of his studies his writings are far from being popular, and are now but little read. They obtained, however, for their author, during an age abounding with illustrious and learned men, an honourable reputation, among the most distinguished literary men of continental Europe, as well as among those of his own country. His works were edited by Dr. Wilkins, in 3 vols. folio, in 1726, to which a Latin 'Life of the Author' is prefixed.





ROBERT BLAKE was born at the seaport town of Bridgewater, in Somersetshire, in August, 1598. His father, Humphrey Blake, was a merchant at Bridgewater, in which neighbourhood he purchased an estate, having accumulated a considerable fortune in the Spanish trade. Humphrey Blake had several children, of whom Robert was the eldest. He was educated in the free school of Bridgewater, whence he went to Oxford, and became a member of St. Alban's Hall in 1615, whence he removed to Wadham College. In 1617 he took the degree of B. A., and in 1619 was a candidate for a fellowship in Merton College, but was unsuccessful, as he had previously been in standing for a scholarship of Christ Church. He rose early, studied hard, and though he was fond of field sports and other violent exercises, seems to have acquired a fair quantity of scholastic learning. He returned to Bridgewater when about twenty-five years old, and lived quietly on his paternal estate till

1640, with the character of a blunt, bold man, of ready humour and fearless expression of his sentiments, which, both in politics and religion, were adverse to the pretensions of the court. These qualities gained for him the confidence of the Presbyterian party in Bridgewater, by whom he was returned to the parliament of April, 1640. The speedy dissolution of that assembly gave him no opportunity of trying his powers as a debater; and he lost his election to the Long Parliament. But on the breaking out of the civil war, he displayed his principles by entering the parliamentary army, and was soon made a captain of dragoons.

We have little information concerning his services till 1643, when we find him intrusted with the command of a fort at Bristol, under Colonel Fiennes, when the city was besieged by the Royalists. Here his impetuous temper had nearly brought him to an untimely death; for having maintained his fort and killed some of the king's soldiers after the garrison had surrendered, Prince Rupert was with difficulty induced to spare his life, which was held to have been forfeited by this violation of the laws of war. Blake served afterwards in Somersetshire, as lieutenant-colonel, under Popham, who was governor of Lyme. He took Taunton for the Parliament, by an unexpected attack, and obtained ten pieces of cannon and a large quantity of ammunition. In 1644 he was appointed governor of Taunton, which was a place of great consequence, being the only Parliamentary fortress in that quarter. In that capacity he distinguished himself by the skill, courage and constancy with which, during two successive sieges, he maintained the town against the Royalists in 1645; an important service, for which the parliament voted 2000*l.* to the garrison, and 500*l.* to the governor. In 1646 Colonel Blake reduced Doncaster Castle, which was nearly one of the last events of the war. Next to Cromwell, he was probably the ablest and most successful military officer in the Parliamentary army. It is recorded that he disapproved of the extremity to which matters were pushed against Charles, and that he

was heard to say that he would as freely venture his life to save the king's as he had ever done it in the service of the Parliament.

In February, 1649, Colonel Blake, in conjunction with two officers of the same rank, Deane and Popham, was appointed to command the fleet. It may be taken as a proof that, notwithstanding the fame of our early navigators, the king's service at sea had never been treated with much attention; that, down to later times than those of which we now write, the chief command of a fleet seems never to have been given to a man of naval education and habits. It is probable that the sea-service then held out no inducements strong enough to tempt men of high birth to submit to its inconveniences, and that the command of a fleet was esteemed too great a post to be conferred on a man of humble origin. For this new employment Blake showed signal capacity. When the embers of the war were stirred up after the king's death, he was ordered to the Irish Seas in pursuit of Prince Rupert, whom he blockaded in the harbour of Kinsale for several months. Despair of relief induced the prince at last to make a daring effort to break through the parliamentary squadron, in which he succeeded; but with the loss of three ships. Blake pursued him to the Tagus, where being denied liberty to attack his enemy by the King of Portugal, in revenge he captured and sent home a number of ships richly laden, on their way from Brazil. Towards the latter end of 1650, Prince Rupert escaped out of the Tagus, and Blake followed him up the straits, thence to Carthagen, and thence to Malaga, which was a neutral port. In January, 1651, he attacked, and, with the exception of two ships, in one of which Prince Rupert and his brother Prince Maurice escaped, destroyed the royalist fleet, in the harbour; a breach of international law, which can only be justified on the alleged ground that Rupert had destroyed British ships in the same harbour. These services were recompensed by the Parliament with the post of Warden of the Cinque Ports; and in March an act was passed constituting Blake, with his colleagues Deane and Popham, admirals and generals of

the fleet for the year ensuing. In that capacity, he took Jersey, Guernsey, and the Scilly Islands from the royalists; a service for which he was again thanked by parliament. In this year he was elected a member of the Council of State.

March 25, 1652, Blake was appointed sole admiral for nine months, in expectation of a war with Holland. The Dutch United States and England were at this time the two most powerful maritime countries in the world; and it is hard to find any better reason than national rivalry for the bloody war which broke out between them in the spring of this year; a war which seems to have been begun on a point of etiquette, at the discretion of the admirals, without orders for hostilities being known to be given by the governments on either side. On May 18, a fleet of forty-two Dutch ships, commanded by the celebrated Van Tromp, appeared off the Goodwin Sands. Being challenged by Major Bourne, who commanded a squadron in the Downs, they professed to have been driven from their anchorage off Dunkirk by stress of weather; but, instead of drawing off the coast as they were required to do, they sailed to Dover and cast anchor, in a manner which showed the deliberate design of insulting the British flag. Blake lay some distance to the westward in Rye Bay. Intelligence was immediately sent to him, and on his approach the Dutch weighed anchor, and seemed about to retreat; but changing their course, they sailed direct for the English fleet. When within musket-shot, Blake ordered a single gun to be fired at the Dutch admiral's flag, which was done thrice. Van Tromp returned a broadside, and a hot and well-contested action ensued, and was maintained till nightfall. Under cover of the darkness the Dutch retreated, losing two ships (one sunk, the other taken), and leaving the possession of the field and the honour of the victory in the hands of the English. The States appear neither to have authorised nor approved of the conduct of their admiral; for they left no means untried to satisfy the English government; and when they found the demands of the latter so high as to preclude accommodation, they

dismissed Van Tromp, and intrusted the command of their fleet to De Ruyter and De Witt. Meanwhile, Blake's activity was unremitting. He gained a rich harvest of prizes among the Dutch homeward-bound merchantmen, which were pursuing their way without suspicion of danger; and, when he had sent home forty good prizes and effectually cleared the Channel, he sailed to the northward, dispersed the fleet engaged in the herring fishery, and captured a hundred of the vessels composing it, together with a squadron of twelve ships of war sent out to protect them. The hostile fleets again came to an engagement, September 28, in which the advantage was decidedly in favour of the English, the rear-admiral of the Dutch being taken, and three or four of their ships disabled. Night put an end to the action; and though for two days the English maintained the pursuit, the lightness and uncertainty of the wind prevented them from closing with the enemy, who escaped into Goree.

After this battle the drafting off of detachments on various services reduced the English fleet to forty sail, and those, it is said, in consequence of the negligence or jealousy of the executive government, were ill provided with men and ammunition, and other requisite supplies. Thus weakly furnished, Blake lay in the Downs, when Van Tromp again stood over to the English coast, with eighty men-of-war. Of that undaunted spirit which usually prompts the British seaman to refuse no odds, Blake had an ample share; indeed, he did much to infuse that spirit into the service. But there are odds for which no spirit can make up, and as he had a brave and skilful enemy, the result of his rashness was that he was well beaten. The action commenced at two o'clock in the morning of November 29, and lasted till six in the evening. Not more than half the ships on either side were engaged; but out of this small number of English vessels, two of war were taken, and four destroyed; the rest were so shattered that they were glad to run for shelter into the river Thames. The Dutch remained masters of the narrow seas; and Van Tromp, in an idle bravado, sailed through the Channel with a broom at his

mast-head, as if he had swept it clear of English ships. However, neither the admiral nor the nation were of a temper to submit to this indignity. Monk and Deane were joined in the commission with Blake, and the fleet was repaired with such diligence, that, on the 8th of February, 1653, he sailed from Queenborough with sixty ships of war, and was soon joined by twenty more from Portsmouth. On the 18th he fell in with Van Tromp, with nearly equal force, conducting a large convoy of merchantmen up the Channel. A running battle ensued, which was continued during three consecutive days, until, on the 20th, the Dutch ships, which, to suit the nature of their coast, were built with a smaller draught of water than the English, obtained shelter in the shallow waters of Calais. In this long and obstinate fight, the Dutch lost only eleven men-of-war and thirty merchant vessels; but the number killed is said to have amounted to 1500 on either side; a loss of life of most unusual amount in naval engagements.

About the end of April Blake and his colleagues sailed over to the coast of Holland with a fleet of 100 sail. The Dutch fleet took shelter in the Texel, where they were watched by Deane and Monk while Blake sailed to the north. The Dutch fleet however got out, and on the 3rd of June Deane and Monk brought them to an engagement off the North Foreland. On the first day the Dutch seem to have had somewhat the advantage: on the 4th Blake arrived with a reinforcement of eighteen sail; the English gained a complete victory, and if the Dutch had not saved themselves in the shallow waters of Calais the whole fleet would doubtless have been sunk or taken. Ill health obliged him then to quit the sea, so that he was not present at the last great victory of July 29, in which Van Tromp was killed. But out of respect for his services the parliament presented him with a gold chain, as well as the admirals who had actually commanded in the battle. When Cromwell dissolved the Long Parliament in April, 1653, and afterwards assumed the office of Protector, Blake, though in his principles a republican, did not refuse to acknowledge the new ad-

ministration. In conjunction with Deane and Monk he published a declaration of their resolution, "notwithstanding the late change, to proceed in the performance of their duties, and the trust reposed in them, against the enemies of the Commonwealth." He is reported to have said to his officers, "It is not our business to mind state-affairs, but to keep foreigners from fooling us." He sat in the two first parliaments summoned by the Protector, who always treated him with great respect. Nor was Cromwell's acknowledged sagacity in the choice of men at fault when he chose Blake to command a strong fleet sent into the Mediterranean in November, 1654, to uphold the honour of the English flag, and to demand reparation for the slights and injuries done to the nation during that stormy period of civil war, when our own discord had made others daring against us. In better hands such a mission could not have been placed. Dutch, French, and Spaniards alike concurred in rendering unusual honours to his flag. The Duke of Tuscany and the Order of Malta made compensation for injuries done to the English commerce. The piratical states of Algiers and Tripoli were terrified into submission, and promised to abstain from further violence. The Dey of Tunis held out, confident in the strength of his fortifications. "Here," he said, "are our castles of Goletta and Porto Ferino: do your worst; do you think we fear your fleet?" Blake took the same course against Tunis as Lord Exmouth did in more recent times against Algiers. He bore right into the bay of Porto Ferino; engaged the fortress within musket-shot, and in less than two hours silenced or dismounted its guns; and sending a detachment of boats into the harbour, burnt the shipping which lay there. This was in March, 1655. After this example he found no more difficulty in dealing with the African states.

War having been declared between Spain and England, in 1656, Blake took his station to blockade the bay of Cadiz. At this period his constitution was much broken, insomuch that, in the expectation of a speedy death, he sent home a request that some person proper to be his successor might be joined in commission with

him. General Montague was accordingly sent out with a strong squadron. Being obliged to quit the coast of Spain in September to obtain water for his fleet, Blake left Captain Stayner with seven ships to watch the enemy. In this interval the Spanish Plate fleet appeared. Stayner captured four ships richly laden with bullion; the rest escaped. Montague conducted the prizes home, so that Blake was again left alone in the Mediterranean. In the ensuing spring, having learnt that another Plate fleet had put into the island of Teneriffe, he sailed thither, and arrived in the road of Santa Cruz, April 20, 1657. The bay was strongly fortified, with a formidable castle at the entrance, and a connected chain of minor forts all round it. The naval force collected there was also considerable, and strongly posted, the smaller vessels being placed under the guns of the forts, the galleons strongly moored with their broadsides to the sea; insomuch that the Spanish governor, a man of courage and ability, felt perfectly at ease as to the security of his charge. The master of a Dutch ship, which was lying in the harbour, was less satisfied, and went to the governor to request leave to quit the harbour; "For I am sure," he said, "that Blake will presently be among you." The governor made a confident reply—"Begone if you will, and let Blake come if he dares." Daring was the last thing wanting; nor did the admiral hesitate, as a wise man might well have done, about the real difficulties of the enterprise in which he was about to engage. The wind blowing into the bay, he sent in Captain Stayner with a squadron to attack the shipping, placed others in such a manner as take off, and, as far as possible, to silence the fire of the castle and the forts, and himself following, assisted Stayner in capturing the galleons, which, though inferior in number, were superior in size and force to the English ships. This was completed by two o'clock in the afternoon, the engagement having commenced at eight in the morning. Hopeless of being able to carry the prizes out of the bay against an adverse wind, and a still active enemy, Blake gave orders to burn them: and it is probable that he himself might have found some dif-

faculty in beating out of the bay under the fire of the castle, which was still lively, when on a sudden, the wind, which had blown strong into the bay, suddenly veered round to the south-west, and favoured his retreat, as it had favoured his daring approach. Of this, the most remarkable as it was the last exploit of Blake's life, Clarendon says, "The whole action was so incredible, that all men who knew the place wondered that any sober man, with what courage soever endowed, would ever have undertaken it; and they could hardly persuade themselves to believe what they had done: while the Spaniards comforted themselves with the belief, that they were devils and not men who had destroyed them in such a manner. So much a strong resolution of bold and courageous men can bring to pass, that no resistance or advantage of ground can disappoint them; and it can hardly be imagined how small a loss the English sustained in this unparalleled action, not one ship being left behind, and the killed and wounded not exceeding two hundred men; when the slaughter on board the Spanish ships and on shore was incredible." It will be recollected with interest that, on the same spot, Nelson lost his arm, in an unsuccessful night-attempt to capture Santa Cruz with an armed force in boats.

For this service the thanks of parliament were voted to the officers and seamen engaged, with a diamond ring to the Admiral worth 500*l*. Blake returned to his old station off Cadiz; but the increase of his disorders, which were dropsy and scurvy, raised a desire in him to return to England, which, however, he did not live to fulfil. He died as he was entering Plymouth Sound, August 17, 1657. His body was transported to London, and buried with great pomp in a vault in Henry VII.'s Chapel, Westminster Abbey, at the public expense. After the Restoration it was thought unworthy to remain in that treasure-house of England's departed greatness; and with the bones of others who had found a resting-place there during the short period of the Commonwealth, it was transferred to St. Margaret's churchyard. It has been disputed whether this was done with more or less of

indecent; but the matter is little worth inquiry. The real indecent and folly lay in thinking that any ground, however sanctified by the reverent associations of centuries, could be polluted by the tomb of a man whose leading passion was the glory of his country, and who made the name and flag of that country respected wherever he carried it: a man of whom not one mean or interested action is recorded, and whose great qualities extorted praise even from the Royalists. Bate, in his '*Elenchus Motuum*,' speaks of him as a man "blameable in this only, that he joined with the *parricides*;" and it may be remarked that Dr. Bate's horror of a parricide did not prevent his being physician to Cromwell, as well as to Charles I. and II. He was a man of the strictest honesty, liberal to the extent of his fortune, and so disinterested that he left only 500*l*. He was a man of low stature.

We conclude with Clarendon's character of this great man. "He was of private extraction, yet had enough left him by his father to give him a good education, which his own inclination disposed him to receive in the University of Oxford, where he took the degree of a Master of Arts, and was enough versed in books for a man who intended not to be of any profession, having sufficient of his own to maintain him in the plenty he affected, and having then no appearance of ambition to be a greater man than he was. He was of a melancholic and sullen nature, and spent his time most with good fellows, who liked his moroseness, and a freedom he used in inveighing against the licence of the time and the power of the court. They who knew him inwardly, discovered that he had an anti-monarchical spirit, when few men thought the government in any danger." After a short sketch of Blake's actions in the civil war, the noble author continues, "He then betook himself wholly to the sea, and quickly made himself signal there. He was the first man that declined the old track, and made it manifest that the science might be attained in less time than was imagined, and despised those rules which had long been in practice, to keep his ship and his men out of danger ;

which had been held in former times a point of great ability and circumspection, as if the principal art requisite in the captain of a ship had been to be sure to come safe home again. He was the first man who brought the ships to contemn castles on shore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were discovered by him to make a noise only, and to fright those who could be rarely hurt by them. He was the first who infused that proportion of courage into the seamen, by making them see by experience what mighty things they could do, if they were resolved, and taught them to fight in fire as well as upon water; and though he has been very well imitated and followed, he was the first that gave the example of that kind of naval courage, and bold and resolute achievements."

The earliest life of Blake which we have seen is in the second volume of a collection entitled 'Lives English and Foreign,' published at the beginning of the last century. Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Heath's Chronicle of the Civil Wars, the Memoirs of Ludlow, Whitelocke, and other contemporary authorities, will furnish minute accounts of the many battles of which we have here only made short mention.

END OF VOL. VI.



THE
CABINET PORTRAIT GALLERY
OF
BRITISH WORTHIES.

VOLUME VII.

LONDON:
CHARLES KNIGHT & CO., LUDGATE STREET.

1846.

CONTENTS.

	Page
DR. WILLIAM HARVEY	5
OLIVER CROMWELL	15
THOMAS FULLER	58
JEREMY TAYLOR	88
LORD CLARENDON	99
JOHN MILTON	135





CABINET PORTRAIT GALLERY

OF

BRITISH WORTHIES.



WILLIAM HARVEY was born on the 1st of April, 1578, at Folkestone, on the southern coast of Kent. He was the eldest of nine children; of the rest little more is known than that several of the brothers were among the most eminent merchants in the city of London during the reigns of the two first Stuarts. His father, Thomas Harvey, followed no profession. He married Joanna Falke, at the age of twenty, and lived upon his own estate at Folkestone. This property devolved by inheritance upon his eldest son; and the greatest part of

it was eventually bequeathed by him to the college at which he was educated.

At ten years of age he commenced his studies at the grammar school in Canterbury; and upon the 31st of May, 1593, soon after the completion of his fifteenth year, was admitted as a pensioner at Caius College, Cambridge.

At that time a familiar acquaintance with logic and the learned languages was indispensable as a first step in the prosecution of all the branches of science, especially of medicine: and the skill with which Harvey avails himself of the scholastic form of reasoning in his great work on the Circulation, with the elegant Latin style of all his writings, particularly of his latest work on the Generation of Animals, afford a sufficient proof of his diligence in the prosecution of these preliminary studies during the next four years which he spent at Cambridge. The two next were occupied in visiting the principal cities and seminaries of the Continent. He then prepared to address himself to those investigations to which the rest of his life was devoted; and the scene of his introduction to them could not have been better chosen than at the University of Padua, where he became a student in his twenty-second year.

The ancient physicians gathered what they knew of anatomy from inaccurate dissections of the lower animals: and the slender knowledge thus acquired, however inadequate to unfold the complicated functions of the human frame, was abundantly sufficient as a basis for conjecture, of which they took full advantage. With them every thing became easy to explain, precisely because nothing was understood; and the nature and treatment of disease, the great object of medicine and of its subsidiary sciences, was hardly abandoned to the conduct of the imagination, and sought for literally among the stars. Nevertheless, so firmly was their authority established, that even down to the close of the sixteenth century, the naturalists of Europe still continued to derive all their physiology, and the greater part of their anatomy and medicine, from the works of Aristotle and

Galen, read not in the original Greek, but re-translated into Latin from the interpolated versions of the Arabian physicians. The opinions entertained by these dictators in the republic of letters, and consequently by their submissive followers, with regard to the structure and functions of the organs concerned in the circulation, were particularly fanciful and confused, so much so that it would be no easy task to give an intelligible account of them that would not be tedious from its length. It will be enough to say, that a scarcely more oppressive mass of mischievous error was cleared away from the science of astronomy by the discovery of Newton, than that from which physiology was disencumbered by the discovery of Harvey.

But though the work was completed by an Englishman, it is to Italy that, in anatomy, as in most of the sciences, we owe the first attempts to cast off the thralldom of the ancients. Mundinus had published a work in the year 1315, which contained a few original observations of his own; and his essay was so well received that it remained the text-book of the Italian schools of anatomy for upwards of two centuries. It was enriched from time to time by various annotators, among the chief of whom were Achilini, and Berengarius, the first person who published anatomical plates. But the great reformer of anatomy was Vesalius, who, born at Brussels in 1514, had attained such early celebrity during his studies at Paris and Louvain, that he was invited by the republic of Venice in his twenty-second year, to the chair of anatomy at Padua, which he filled for seven years with the highest reputation. He also taught at Bologna, and subsequently, by the invitation of Cosmo de' Medici, at Pisa. The first edition of his work '*De Corporis Humani Fabricâ*,' was printed at Basle, in the year 1543: it is perhaps one of the most successful efforts of human industry and research, and from the date of its publication begins an entirely new era in the science of which it treats. The despotic sway hitherto maintained in the schools of medicine by the writings of Aristotle and Galen, was now shaken to its foundation,

and a new race of anatomists eagerly pressed forward in the path of discovery. Among these no one was more conspicuous than Fallopius, the disciple, successor, and in fame the rival, of Vesalius, at Padua. After him the anatomical professorship was filled by Fabricius ab Aquapendente, the last of the distinguished anatomists who flourished at Padua in the sixteenth century.

Harvey became his pupil in 1599, and from this time he appears to have applied himself seriously to the study of anatomy. The first germ of the discovery which has shed immortal honour on his name and country was conceived in the lecture-room of Fabricius.

He remained at Padua for two years; and, having received the degree of Doctor in Arts and Medicine with unusual marks of distinction, returned to England early in the year 1602. Two years afterwards he commenced practice in London, and married the daughter of Dr. Launcelot Browne, by whom he had no children. He became a Fellow of the College of Physicians when about thirty years of age, having in the mean time renewed his degree of Doctor in Medicine, at Cambridge, and was soon after elected Physician to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, which office he retained till a late period of his life.

On the 4th of August, 1615, he was appointed Reader of Anatomy and Surgery to the College of Physicians. From some scattered hints in his writings, it appears that his doctrine of the circulation was first advanced in his lectures at the college about four years afterwards: and a note-book in his own handwriting is still preserved at the British Museum, in which the principal arguments by which it is substantiated are briefly set down, as if for reference in the lecture-room. Yet with the characteristic caution and modesty of true genius, he continued for nine years longer to reason and experimentalize upon what is now considered one of the simplest, as it is undoubtedly the most important, known law of animal nature: and it was not till the year 1628, the fifty-first of his life, that he consented to publish his discovery to the world.

In that year the 'Exercitatio Anatomica de Motu Cordis et Sanguinis' was published at Frankfort. This masterly treatise begins with a short outline and refutation of the opinions of former anatomists on the movement of the animal fluids and the functions of the heart; the author discriminating with care, and anxiously acknowledging the glimpses of the truth to be met with in their writings; as if he not only kept in mind the justice due to previous discoveries, and the prudence of softening the novelty and veiling the extent of his own, but had foreseen the preposterous imputation of plagiarism, which, with other inconsistent charges, was afterwards brought forward against him. This short sketch is followed by a plain exposition of the anatomy of the circulation, and a detail of the results of numerous experiments; and the new theory is finally maintained in a strain of close and powerful reasoning, and followed into some of its most important consequences. The whole argument is conducted in simple unpretending language, with great perspicuity, and scrupulous attention to logical form.

The doctrine announced by Harvey may be briefly stated thus:—

When the blood supplied for the various processes which are carried on in the living body has undergone a certain degree of change, it requires to be purified by the act of respiration. For this purpose it is urged onwards by fresh blood from behind into the veins; and returning in them from all parts of the body, enters a cavity of the heart called the *right auricle*. At the same time the purified blood returning from the lungs by the pulmonary veins, passes into the *left auricle*. When these two cavities, which are distinct from each other, are sufficiently dilated, they contract, and force the blood which they contain into two other much more muscular cavities, called respectively the right and left *ventricle*, all retrogression into the auricles being prevented by valves, which admit of a passage in one direction only. The ventricles then contract in their turn with great force, and at the same instant, and propel

their blood,—the right, by the pulmonary artery, into the lungs,—the left, which is much the stronger of the two, into all parts of the body, by the great artery called the *aorta*, and its branches; all return being prevented as before, by valves situated at the orifices of those vessels, which are closed most accurately when the ventricles relax, by the backward pressure of the blood arising from the elasticity of the arteries. Thus the purified blood passes from the lungs by the pulmonary veins through the left auricle into the ventricle of the same side, by which it is distributed into all parts of the body, driving the vitiated blood before it, and the vitiated blood is pushed into and along the veins to the right auricle, and thence is sent into the right ventricle, which propels it by the pulmonary artery through the lungs. In this manner a double circulation is kept up by the sole agency of the heart, through the lungs, and through the body; the contractions of the auricles and ventricles taking place alternately. To prevent any backward motion of the blood in the superficial veins, which might happen from their liability to external pressure, they are also provided with simple and very complete valves which admit of a passage only towards the heart. They were first remarked by Fabricius ab Aquapendente, and exhibited in his lectures to Harvey among the rest of his pupils; but their function remained a mystery till it was explained by the discovery of the circulation. It is related by Boyle, upon Harvey's own authority, that the first idea of this comprehensive principle suggested itself to him when considering the structure of these valves.

The pulmonary circulation had been surmised by Galen, and maintained by his successors; but no proof even of this insulated portion of the truth, more than amounted to strong probability, had been given till the time of Harvey; and no plausible claim to the discovery, still less to the demonstration, of the general circulation has ever been set up in opposition to his. Indeed, its truth was quite inconsistent with the ideas everywhere entertained in the schools on the functions of

the heart and other viscera, and was destructive of many favourite theories. The new doctrine, therefore, as may well be supposed, was received by most of the anatomists of the period with distrust, and by all with surprise. Some of them undertook to refute it; but their objections turned principally on the silence of Galen, or consisted of the most frivolous cavils: the controversy, too, assumed the form of personal abuse even more speedily than is usually the case when authority is at issue with reason. To such opposition Harvey for some time did not think it necessary to reply; but some of his friends in England, and of the adherents to his doctrine on the Continent, warmly took up his defence. At length he was induced to take a personal share in the dispute in answer to Riolanus, a Parisian anatomist of some celebrity, whose objections were distinguished by some show of philosophy, and unusual abstinence from abuse. The answer was conciliatory and complete, but ineffectual to produce conviction; and in reply to Harvey's appeal to direct experiment, his opponent urged nothing but conjecture and assertion. Harvey once more rejoined at considerable length; taking occasion to give a spirited rebuke to the unworthy reception he had met with, in which it seems that Riolanus had now permitted himself to join; adducing several new and conclusive experiments in support of his theory; and entering at large upon its value in simplifying physiology and the study of diseases, with other interesting collateral topics. Riolanus, however, still remained unconvinced; and his second rejoinder was treated by Harvey with contemptuous silence. He had already exhausted the subject in the two excellent controversial pieces just mentioned, the last of which is said to have been written at Oxford about 1645; and he never resumed the discussion in print. Time had now come to the assistance of argument, and his discovery began to be generally admitted. To this indeed his opponents contributed by a still more singular discovery of their own, namely, that the facts had been observed, and the important inference drawn, long before. This was the mere allegation of envy,

chafed at the achievements of another, which, from their apparent facility, might have been its own. It is indeed strange that the simple mechanism thus explained should have been unobserved or misunderstood so long; and nothing can account for it but the imperceptible lightness as well as the strength of the chains which authority imposes on the mind.

In the year 1623 Harvey became Physician Extraordinary to James I., and seven years later was appointed Physician to Charles. He followed the fortunes of that monarch, who treated him with great distinction, during the first years of the civil war, and he was present at the battle of Edgehill in 1642. Having been incorporated Doctor of Physic by the University of Oxford, he was promoted by Charles to the Wardenship of Merton College in 1645; but he did not retain this office very long, his predecessor Dr. Brent being reinstated by the Parliament after the surrender of Oxford in the following year.

Harvey then returned to London, and resided with his brother Eliab at Cockaine-house in the Poultry. About the time of Charles's execution he gave up his practice, which had never been considerable, probably in consequence of his devotion to the scientific, rather than the practical parts of his profession. He himself, however, attributed his want of success to the enmity excited by his discovery. After a second visit to the Continent, he secluded himself in the country, sometimes at his own house in Lambeth, and sometimes with his brother Eliab at Combe in Surrey. Here he was visited by his friend Dr. Ent in 1651, by whom he was persuaded to allow the publication of his work on the Generation of Animals. It was the fruit of many years of experiment and meditation; and, though the vehicle of no remarkable discovery, is replete with interest and research, and contains passages of brilliant and even poetical eloquence. The object of his work is to trace the germ through all its changes to the period of maturity; and the illustrations are principally drawn from the phenomena exhibited by eggs in the process of incu-

bation, which he watched with great care, and has described with minuteness and fidelity. The microscope had not at that time the perfection it has since attained; and consequently Harvey's account of the first appearance of the chick is somewhat inaccurate, and has been superseded by the observations of Malpighi, Hunter, and others. The experiments upon which he chiefly relied in this department of natural history had been repeated in the presence of Charles I., who appears to have taken great interest in the studies of his physician.

In the year 1653, the seventy-fifth of his life, Harvey presented the College of Physicians with the title-deeds of a building erected in their garden, and elegantly fitted up at his expense, with a library and museum, and commodious apartments for their social meetings. Upon this occasion he resigned the Professorship of Anatomy, which he had held for nearly forty years, and was succeeded by Dr. Glisson.

In 1654 he was elected to the Presidency of the College, which he declined on the plea of age; and the former President, Sir Francis Prujean, was re-elected at his request. Two years afterwards he made a donation to the college of a part of his patrimonial estate to the yearly value of 56*l.*, as a provision for the maintenance of the library and an annual festival and oration in commemoration of benefactors.

At length his constitution, which had long been harassed by the gout, yielded to the increasing infirmities of age, and he died in his eightieth year, on the 3d of June, 1657. He was buried at Hempstead in Essex, in a vault belonging to his brother Eliab, who was his principal heir, and his remains were followed to the grave by a numerous procession of the body of which he had been so illustrious and munificent a member.

The best edition of his works is that edited by the College of Physicians in 1766, to which is prefixed a valuable notice of his life, and an account of the controversy to which his discovery of the circulation gave rise. All that remain of his writings, in addition to those which have been already mentioned, are an account

of the dissection of Thomas Parr, who died at the age of 153, and a few letters addressed to various Continental anatomists. His lodgings at Whitehall had been plundered, in the early part of the civil war, of many papers containing manuscript notes of experiments and observations, chiefly relating to comparative anatomy. This was a loss which he always continued to lament. The missing papers have never been recovered.

In person he was below the middle size, but well proportioned. He had a dark complexion, black hair, and small lively eyes. In his youth his temper is said to have been very hasty. If so, he was cured of this defect as he grew older; for nothing can be more courteous and temperate than his controversial writings; and the genuine kindness and modesty which were conspicuous in all his dealings with others, with his instructive conversation, gained him many attached and excellent friends. He was fond of meditation and retirement; and there is much in his works to characterize him as a man of warm and unaffected piety.

There are several histories of his life; a very elegant one has lately been published in a volume of the Family Library, entitled 'Lives of British Physicians.'





FRANCIS BACON



At the quiet close of the reign of Elizabeth, and of that eventful sixteenth century, the middle of which had been shaken in England and elsewhere by the tempest of the Reformation, dwelt in the town of Huntingdon Robert Cromwell, second son of Sir Henry Cromwell, the possessor of the neighbouring mansion of Hinchinbrook, even then a distinguished residence, now the seat of the Earls of Sandwich. Sir Henry, styled from his popular qualities the "Golden Knight," lived till 1604, and was succeeded in his estates by his eldest son Sir Oliver, who made a great figure for some twenty years, repeatedly entertaining King James with vast magnificence, but was obliged at last to part with Hinchinbrook about the year 1627, after which he lived in obscurity or retirement till his death in 1655, at the age of ninety-three. The founder of the Cromwell family was a Welsh gentleman of the name of Williams, who married a sister of Thomas Cromwell, the minister and vicar-ge-

neral of Henry the Eighth, and whose son laid aside his original name for that of his potent patron and relation. They had only been established at Hinchinbrook for the space of about half a century that had elapsed since then. They had, however, acquired extensive possessions in those parts; so that Sir Henry, beside the principal estate which he left to his heir, is said to have given or bequeathed to each of his four younger sons lands of the value of about 300*l.* per annum; equivalent to perhaps three or four times the same nominal income now.

Robert's patrimony consisted of some fields in the neighbourhood of Huntingdon, with a house in that town. In this house, the site of which, at least, if not the identical building, tradition can still point out, he resided with his wife, whom he is supposed to have married in 1591. She was the widow of William Lynne, Esq., of Bassingbourne in Cambridgeshire; and, as she is said to have been ninety-four years of age when she died in 1654, she would be thirty-one at the time of this her second marriage. She was born Elizabeth Steward, daughter of William Steward, Esq., sister of Sir Thomas Steward, Knight, both of Ely; and, curiously enough, they trace her descent from Andrew Steward, second son of Alexander, Lord High Steward of Scotland, whose eldest son, James, was father of Walter, Lord High Steward, who married Margery, daughter of Robert Bruce, and so became the progenitor of the Scottish royal line. Mrs. Cromwell and King Charles the First are made out in this way to have been eighth cousins. She and her husband had a family of ten children, three sons and seven daughters; six of the daughters grew up, but only one of the sons, Oliver, the fifth child and second son, born on the 25th of April, 1599.

Almost the single fact in Robert Cromwell's history that has been preserved is that he represented the borough of Huntingdon in the Parliament of 1593. It is also said that he carried on a considerable brewing business; or rather the story is that it was carried on by his wife without his giving himself much trouble about it. It is probable enough that, farming his own ground,

he may have turned part of the produce to account in this way. There is no reason to suppose that he had any of the magnificent and expensive tastes of his elder brother ; nor does he appear to have had any ambition beyond the tranquil but obscure respectability of a country gentleman of moderate estate.

By connexion both he and his wife ought naturally, as it would seem, to have been church and king people ; Mrs. Cromwell's father, and after him her brother, were large lessees of tithes and church lands under the Dean and Chapter of Ely, and we have seen how devoted a royalist the head of the house of Cromwell was ; nevertheless it may be suspected that the future great hero of Puritanism derived the first taint of his principles from his father and mother. There were as yet no actual separatists from the national church ; but Robert Cromwell and his wife probably belonged to that more serious portion of the population which first drew off from and then fell upon and overwhelmed the church in the next age. To this party too his schoolmaster belonged, the Reverend Thomas Beard, D.D., Master of Huntingdon Grammar School, to which the boy was sent as a matter of course to learn his Latin and Greek. Good Dr. Beard was probably a friend of the family ; there is evidence at least that he continued to be the friend of his pupil, and that the latter had imbibed from him something more than Greek and Latin.

Tradition, however, tells various stories, some of which may be true, or partly true, which would imply that the usual intercourse of near relationship was kept up by Robert Cromwell's family and that of Hinchinbrook, in the time both of his father Sir Henry and of his brother Sir Oliver. When young Oliver was an infant in arms, it is related, having been one day taken to see his grandfather, a monkey somehow or other got hold of him, and ran off with him to the leads on the top of the house ; whence, however, after running about with him for some time, the sagacious animal, as if knowing that it had the fortune of England in its keeping, brought down the child in safety, to the great relief

of all the affrighted inmates, who had been crowding around with feather beds and other appliances to break his expected fall. The classical reader will be reminded of Horace's

Non sine diis animosus infans.

Another of these anecdotes may be given in the words of his biographer, the Rev. Mark Noble:—"They have a tradition at Huntingdon that when King Charles I., then Duke of York, in his journey from Scotland to London, in 1604, called in his way at Hinchinbrook, the seat of Sir Oliver Cromwell, that knight, to divert the young prince, sent for his nephew Oliver, that he, with his own sons, might play with his Royal Highness; but they had not been long together before Charles and Oliver disagreed; and, as the former was then as weakly as the latter was strong, it was no wonder that the royal visitor was worsted; and Oliver, even at this age, so little regarded dignity, that he made the royal blood flow in copious streams from the Prince's nose." "This," adds Noble, "was looked upon as a bad presage for that King when the civil wars commenced." Odd enough, that, when Charles and the Parliament first came to blows in the autumn of 1642, the people of Huntingdon should have foreseen that the King would be worsted, on the strength of his having got a bloody nose from their townsman eight-and-thirty years before!

This story, however, the Reverend biographer does not absolutely vouch for; he gives it, he informs us, "only as the report of the place;" he seems to think it extremely improbable, if not entirely incredible, that Oliver, *even* at this age, should have "so little regarded dignity;" as if respect for the social distinctions of rank were pre-eminently a little boys' characteristic, or perhaps, a sort of innate idea, or reminiscence of some more glorious state of pre-existence—a gleam of the heaven that "lies about us in our infancy!"

Shades of the prison-house begin to close
Upon the growing Boy,

But he beholds the light, and whence it flows,
 He sees it in his joy ;
 The Youth, who daily farther from the east
 Must travel, still is Nature's priest,
 And by the vision splendid
 Is on his way attended ;
 At length the Man perceives it die away,
 And fade into the light of common day."

"It is more certain," proceeds Noble, recounting these juvenile adventures of his hero, "that Oliver averred that he saw a gigantic figure which came and opened the curtains of his bed, and told him that he should be the greatest person in the kingdom, but did not mention the word king ; and, though he [that is, Oliver, not the gigantic phantom] was told of the folly as well as the wickedness of such an assertion, he persisted in it ; for which he was flogged by Dr. Beard, at the particular desire of his father ; notwithstanding which he would sometimes repeat it to his uncle Steward, who told him it was traitorous to relate it." Cromwell, we are assured in a note, often mentioned this vision "when he was in the height of his glory." The fact, however, does not seem to be one which the Reverend biographer had any means of knowing ; and, for our own part, we should consider the whole story rather *less* certain than either that of his fight with Prince Charles or that of his adventure with the monkey.

The first unquestionable fact of his life, indeed the first thing recorded about him that has much of the look of a genuine fact, after the mere date of his birth, is, that on the 23rd of April, 1616, when he was within two days of having completed his seventeenth year, he was entered of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr. Richard Howlett. The Latin record is still distinctly legible there in the old parchment volume, now for its sake regarded as the greatest curiosity of which the college has to boast. Somebody, half a century later or more, has written under it such an emphatic annotation as had by that time become safe, perhaps was thought to be almost requisite :—*Hic fuit*

grandis ille Impostor, Carnifex perditissimus, &c.,—that is to say, “This was that grand Impostor, that most execrable villain,” and so forth. If this gloss has been the means of preserving the original entry from obliteration, we are obliged to the loyal zeal by which it was indicted. It is possible that it was written down partly with this object, the zeal of antiquarianism mixing with that of loyalty.

Cromwell’s academic life lasted only above a twelve-month. His father died in June, 1617, and he returned no more to the University. It is believed that he soon after came up to London; and here authentic history loses sight of him for about three years. It has been commonly stated that he was entered of Lincoln’s Inn; but his name is not found in the registers either of that or of any of the other inns of court. If he studied the law at all, therefore, it was most probably in some attorney’s office, as Shakspeare is supposed by some to have done, as Warburton undoubtedly did. It may be questioned, too, if it was ever intended that he should practise the law as a profession: perhaps his only object, or that of his friends, was that he should merely acquire knowledge enough to enable him to act with credit as a country magistrate. At the same time, the fact of his having had any thing whatever to do with the law while he was in London is as far as possible from being established: the only precise part of the common account, his having been a student of Lincoln’s Inn, turns out, as we have seen, to be unfounded. Nay, we have no sufficient evidence, or any thing like sufficient evidence, that these three years were spent by him in London at all. All we have is the assertion of the same writers who report in the same sentence or paragraph the fiction of his having been a student of one of the inns of court. He may have merely visited the metropolis, perhaps several times, while his proper residence was with his mother at Huntingdon. What is positively known is that it was in London he found his wife. On the 22nd of August, 1620, he was married in St. Giles’s Church, Cripplegate, to Elizabeth Bouchier, daughter of Sir James Bouchier, Knight, an

eminent merchant of the city, and also the owner of an estate in land, where he usually resided, at Felsted, in Essex. It is said that this marriage was brought about through his relations the Barringtons and Hampdens. One of Cromwell's father's sisters, Joan, had married Sir Francis Barrington, Bart. ; another, Elizabeth, was the wife of William Hampden, of Great Hampden, in Bucks, and the mother of the famous patriot, who was therefore first cousin to Cromwell, as he also was to Waller the poet, who was the son of his father's sister. As both the Hampdens and the Barringtons were families of popular politics, it is probable that the Bouchiers, about whom little is known, were of the same side. It is admitted on all hands that now at least Cromwell fixed himself at Huntingdon.

If we may believe the Royalist writers after the Restoration, he had led up to this date the wildest of lives. Anthony Wood's account, in his 'Fasti,' is, that "his father dying while he was at Cambridge, he was taken home and sent to Lincoln's Inn to study the common law ; but, making nothing of it, he was sent for home by his mother, became a debauchee, and a boisterous and rude fellow." Dugdale, in his 'Short View of the Troubles in England,' says, "In his youth he was for some time bred up in Cambridge, where he made no great proficiency in any kind of learning ; but then and afterwards, sorting himself with drinking companions, and the ruder sort of people, being of a rough and blustering disposition, he had the name of a Roister amongst most that knew him ; and by his exorbitances so wasted his patrimony, that, having attempted his uncle Steward for a supply of his wants, and finding that by a smooth way of application to him he could not prevail, he endeavoured by a colour of law to lay hold of his estate, representing him as a person not able to govern it. But therein he failed." Dugdale, by the bye, makes no mention of Cromwell ever having been a student of any of the Inns of Court. But the great authority for these stories is the 'Flagellum' of James Heath—"Carrion Heath," as he has been called,—

otherwise entitled 'The Life and Death of Oliver Cromwell, the late Usurper,' first published in 1663, and written in the highest or rather the lowest strain of the dominant political sentiment of that day. He also represents Cromwell, after he returned from London, as having been the nuisance and terror of his native place ; his chief associates, we are assured, were tinkers, pedlars, and other such disreputable characters ; he had always a quarter-staff in his hand, with which he compelled every one to give way to him ; he spent his time chiefly in the public-houses, where, however, he usually neglected to pay his reckoning, so that the innkeepers, it seems, when they saw him coming, would say, "Here comes young Cromwell ; shut up your doors ;" and, if they made any complaint, the only satisfaction they had was to have their windows smashed. His life was a continued round of drinking, gambling, and all other sorts of dissipation and dissoluteness. To the same effect is the account given by Dr. George Bate, who was Cromwell's physician, but had also previously held the same court-office under Charles I., and was afterwards continued in it by Charles II., having managed to acquire in succession the favour of each ; not, we may suppose, by letting it appear, when he got a new master, that he retained any inconveniently grateful remembrance of his last one. In his 'Elenchus Motuum,' (or 'Account of the late Commotions') he writes of Cromwell, as the passage has been translated by Harris :—"In his youth he married a gentlewoman, but, by his profuse and luxurious way of living, in a short time he squandered away both his mother's and his wife's estate, so that he was almost reduced to beggary. Afterwards, assuming the behaviour of a penitent, he gave himself wholly up to the hearing of sermons, reading of godly books, and works of mortification ; and having got a brewhouse, he applied himself to the brewing trade, and also to husbandry. After that, his uncle, Sir Robert Steward, who had an aversion to him, being reconciled by the means of some clergymen and courtiers, left him his fortune. But, shortly after, having again run out of all, he resolves to

go to New England, and prepares all things for that end."

But little or no dependence can be placed upon such loose and incoherent jumbles as all these relations are. Besides the purpose for which they were given to the world by their authors, and the animus that is apparent in them, they are full of inconsistencies and inaccuracies, and can be convicted of falsehood almost as often as they descend to particulars. It may perhaps be admitted to be probable that Cromwell led a careless life, and was guilty of some excesses, for a few years after becoming at so early an age his own master; but even this must be considered to rest not so much upon the testimony of these first ill-informed and worse disposed writers of his life as upon what he says of himself in one of his letters which has been preserved; it is dated Ely, 13th Oct., 1638, and is addressed to his cousin (a daughter of his father's next brother, Henry Cromwell) Mrs. St. John, wife of St. John, afterwards Solicitor-General. Therein he says:—"You know what my manner of life hath been. Oh, I lived in and loved darkness, and hated light; I was a chief, the chief of sinners. This is true: I hated godliness, yet God had mercy on me. O the riches of his mercy!" And even these words may mean no more than that he had not always had the same religious convictions, nor lived so strict and serious a life, as now.

The general course of his history is most safely and also most distinctly to be traced, for the twenty years which followed his marriage, by a few well-established facts. He was returned as member for Huntingdon to the parliament which met in March, 1628, Charles the First's third parliament. This single fact may be regarded as disposing of nearly all the exaggerations and rubbish of Bate and Heath: it sufficiently proves at least that he was not at this time a person of either ruined character or ruined fortunes. Yet, to make Bate's account at all consistent or intelligible, we must extend at least the part of it that relates to his extravagance and wasteful habits a good many years beyond this date. That Cromwell was now become zealously

religious or puritanical is proved by an authentic record of a speech which he made in the second session of this parliament, which began in January, 1629. The House had resolved itself into a Grand Committee of Religion, when, on the 11th of February, the member for Huntingdon stood up and said, "He had heard, by relation from one Dr. Beard, that Dr. Alablastor had preached flat Popery at Paul's Cross, and that the Bishop of Winchester had commanded him, as his diocesan, he should preach nothing to the contrary. Mainwaring, so justly censured in this House for his sermons, was by the same bishop's means preferred to a rich living. If these are the steps to church preferment, what are we to expect?" And upon this, as appears by the Journals, the House "ordered Dr. Beard, of Huntingdon, to be written to by the Speaker to come up and testify against the bishop; the order for Dr. Beard to be delivered to Mr. Cromwell." But probably before the reverend doctor could obey this summons, at any rate before the inquiry into the business of Dr. Alablastor and his popish preaching could be begun, the parliament was put an end to on the 2nd of March.

On the 8th of July in the next year, 1630, he was named, in a new charter granted to the corporation of Huntingdon, a justice of peace for that town, conjointly with Dr. Beard and Robert Bernard, Esq. On the 7th of May, 1631, he sold his property in and near Huntingdon for the sum of 1800*l.*, his uncle, styled Sir Oliver Cromwell, alias Williams, and his mother, designated Elizabeth Williams, alias Cromwell, joining with him in the conveyance; the one having some nominal interest in the lands arising out of the nature or form of the original grant by his father—the latter, no doubt, a real interest on account of her jointure. The sum appears small, but hardly so inadequate as that for which the estate of Hinchinbrook had been sold by Sir Oliver a few years before, being only a trifle above 3000*l.* With the 1800*l.* Cromwell stocked a grazing farm at St. Ives, about five miles farther down the river Ouse. It has been remarked, however, that his children continued for

some time to be christened at Huntingdon, as did also those of his married sisters: whence it is inferred that their grandmother probably remained there. Perhaps Oliver himself may not yet have absolutely quitted his native place, or may have still for some time kept his wife and family at Huntingdon. He had by this time four sons and two daughters, who were all living, with the exception, perhaps, of his first-born, a son, who appears to have died in infancy or boyhood. Another son, who died the day after he was baptized, and two more daughters, were afterwards born to him. His eldest son was born in October, 1621, and his youngest daughter and child in December, 1638.

Cromwell's farm at St. Ives was rented from the estate of Slepe Hall, and lay at the south-eastern extremity of the town, which stands upon the north-east or left bank of the Ouse, the river here being carried by a bend to the south-east out of its general northerly course. Here he resided for about four years and a half. The parish clerk of St. Ives told Noble, in the latter part of the last century, "that he had been informed by old persons, who knew Mr. Cromwell when he resided at St. Ives, that he usually frequented divine service at church, and that he generally came with a piece of red flannel about his neck, as he was subject to an inflammation in his throat." The vicar of St. Ives at this time was the Rev. Henry Downett; he was deprived of his living by the parliament in 1642; and, as Cromwell was then one of the Committee of Religion, it is presumed that he had nothing to say in favour of his former clergyman's soundness of doctrine. Almost the only memorial of Cromwell now remaining at St. Ives is his signature in one of the parish registers to a memorandum of the election of overseers for the streets and highways, in April, 1634. His name stands first of eleven subscribed to the entry. There was formerly another signature of his to a similar memorandum for the preceding year, but it has been cut out. It seems that they now point out what is called Slepe Hall, being the last house at the south-eastern extremity of the town, as the

one in which he lived ; it serves at present for a boarding-school, and Mr. Carlyle, from whose late work, ' Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches,' we derive our information, appears to make it out that the local tradition is in all probability a mistake. Noble expressly tells us that Cromwell's house was no longer standing in his time. " Mr. Atkins, an attorney," he says, " lives in a nanasome one built upon the site of the old one ; it stands just without the town." There is also a letter of Cromwell's, dated from St. Ives, the 11th of January, 1635 (or 1636, as we should now reckon), which Harris gives from the original in the British Museum, although such original is no longer to be found in that repository. It is addressed " To my very loving friend Mr. Storie, at the sign of the Dog, in the Royal Exchange, London," and abundantly demonstrates the strong hold that religion or puritanism had by this time taken of him, and that his whole heart was in the work. Yet it equally expresses the practical turn and faculty of the man ; it is an earnest application to Storie not to allow a lectureship, which he had been instrumental with other subscribers in establishing in the county of Huntingdon, to go down for want of funds to pay the lecturer ; and even Noble himself, a well-endowed clergyman, ought to have seen something more than " a convincing proof how far Oliver was at that time gone in religious enthusiasm," in the concluding sentences : " You know, Mr. Storie, to withdraw the pay is to let fall the lecture : for who goeth to warfare at his own cost ? I beseech you, therefore, in the bowels of Christ, put it forward, and let the good man have his pay." Such, indeed, are all Cromwell's letters that have come down to us, without, we believe, a single exception. That the work of this world is to be done energetically, but in the spirit of a higher world—that is not so much the principle which he appears to have constantly kept in view as it is the man himself, the expression of his whole soul and being. If he was a religious enthusiast, he was certainly no mere dreaming visionary. The most unenthusiastic or irreligious person never showed more of

sublunary sagacity, alacrity, and strenuousness than he did in whatever he undertook. If his heart was elsewhere, his hand was not the less here. But in truth, his heart, too, was not the less among the things of earth for being also among those of heaven; for in his view heaven and earth were one—the earth was, in a sense, only a preliminary or lower heaven.

But his residence at St. Ives was now drawing to a close. A few days after the letter we have just quoted was written, his uncle Sir Thomas Steward died at Ely; he was buried in the cathedral there on the 30th of January, 1636. We have seen what Dugdale writes about an attempt made by Cromwell, it is not stated when, to have his uncle declared a lunatic in order that he might get possession of his estate, wherein we are told he failed, and also what is blunderingly recorded by Bate about his uncle Sir *Robert* Steward, after some aversion he had taken up, having been reconciled to him by the good offices of certain clergymen and courtiers, that is, we suppose, puritanic clergymen on the part of the nephew—on that of the uncle, persons of his own or the church and king's side having an influence with the old man, and also, it may be, kindly disposed to Cromwell for the sake of the loyal stock he was sprung from. Both stories are as vague as can well be, nor does the one seem very consistent with the other; but the fact at any rate is, that Sir Thomas by his will, made the same month in which he died, left Oliver his principal heir. He became in this way possessed of very considerable estates in and near Ely, partly consisting of land and tithes held under the dean and chapter; and he thereupon transferred himself to that city. He resided, Noble tells us, in the glebe-house, near to St. Mary's churchyard, still occupied in Noble's time by the lessee of the same tithes, then a Mr. Page. "The house," says Mr. Carlyle, "though somewhat in a frail state, is still standing; close to St. Mary's churchyard; at the corner of the great tithe-barn of Ely, or great square of tithe-barns and offices, which 'is the biggest barn in England but one,' say the Ely people. Of this

house, for Oliver's sake, some painter will yet perhaps take a correct likeness; it is needless to go to Stuntney, out on the Soham road, as Oliver's painters usually do; Oliver never lived there, but only his mother's cousins! Two years ago this house in Ely stood empty closed finally up, deserted by all the Pages, as 'the commutation of tithes' had rendered it superfluous; this year (1845), I find it is an alehouse, with still some chance of standing. It is by no means a sumptuous mansion; but may have conveniently held a man of three or four hundred a year, with his family, in those simple times. Some quaint air of gentility still looks through its ragged dilapidation. It is of two stories, more properly of one and a half; has many windows, irregular chimneys, and gables. Likely enough Oliver lived here; likely his grandfather may have lived here, his mother have been born here. She was now again resident here. The tomb of her first husband and child, *Johannes Lynne* and poor little *Catharina Lynne*, is in the cathedral hard by."

Cromwell continued to live at Ely till the breaking out of the quarrel between the king and the parliament in the end of 1640; and his family seems to have remained there for six or seven years longer, or till after the termination of the first civil war. It was while resident here that, in the year 1638, he took the lead in opposing the proceedings of the Earl of Bedford and other proprietors associated for draining the neighbouring fens, and by rousing the popular spirit succeeded in stopping certain of their measures, which, if they had carried off the water from the land, would also have carried off the land from those to whom it rightfully belonged. Whence he obtained from the popular gratitude the title of Lord of the Fens. It appears that Cromwell did not, as has been commonly affirmed, object to any draining of the Fens, but only to the business being carried on upon the unjust principle of the undertakers, who had in fact entered into a confederacy with the crown to have it managed in such a way as that the two parties should divide all the advantage between them.

and disregard all interests but their own. Sir Philip Warwick informs us that Cromwell's conduct in this affair attracted the special notice of his friend and kinsman Hampden, so that, in the beginning of the Long Parliament, the latter characterised his cousin as "an active person, and one that would sit (or set) well at the mark."

But before this Cromwell's popularity in the eastern counties had sent him up as one of the members for the town of Cambridge to what is called the Short Parliament, which met on the 13th of April, 1640, and was dismissed on the 5th of May. And he was returned again for the same place to the Long Parliament, which met on the 3rd of November.*

"The first time that ever I took notice of him," writes Sir Philip Warwick ('Memoirs,' p. 247) "was in the very beginning of the Parliament held in November, 1640, when I vainly thought myself a worthy young gentleman (for we courtiers valued ourselves much upon our good clothes). I came one morning into the house well clad, and perceived a gentleman speaking, whom I knew not, very ordinarily apparelled; for it was a plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor; his linen was plain, and not very clean; and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar; his hat was without a hatband; his stature was of a good size, his sword stuck close to his side, his countenance swollen and reddish, his voice sharp and

* Dugdale's account (in his 'Short View of the Troubles') is a piece of good comedy: "His boldness and eloquence in this business (of the Fens) gained him so much credit, as that, soon after, being necessitated through his low condition to quit a country farm which he held at St. Ives, and betake himself to mean lodgings in Cambridge, the schismatical party there chose him a burgess for their corporation in that unhappy Long Parliament, which began," &c. &c. His election to the Short Parliament is unknown to Dugdale, although so well informed on the subject of his lodgings at Cambridge.

untunable, and his eloquence full of fervour ; for the subject matter would not bear much of reason ; it being in behalf of a servant of Mr. Prynne's who had dispersed libels against the Queen for her dancing and such like innocent and courtly sports ; and he aggravated the imprisonment of this man by the Council-table unto that height that one would have believed the very government itself had been in great danger by it. I sincerely profess it lessened much my reverence unto that great council ; for he was very much hearkened unto. And yet I lived to see this very gentleman, whom out of no ill will to him I thus describe, by multiplied good successes, and by real but usurped power, having had a better tailor and more converse among good company, in my own eye, when for six weeks together I was a prisoner in his sergeant's hands, and daily waited at Whitehall, appear of a great and majestic deportment and comely presence."

It appears, among other things to be gathered from this reminiscence of the not uncandid old royalist, that Cromwell, the destined director and controller of the commencing revolution, showed himself in front of the movement almost as soon as it began ; not indeed as yet with the solitary conspicuousness of Mirabeau in the Salle de Menus Plaisirs, at Versailles, on the memorable 23rd of June, 1789, but still as even already an actor and in some sort a leader, not a mere voter or cypher. He not only spoke, we see, but was attentively listened to. The rude fervour and passion of his eloquence found an echo in the strong convictions and excited temper of his audience, and of the time, that made his earnestness a power, a spell. He gave expression and embodiment to the dominant national sentiment ; not indeed in musical tones or well-turned periods, but with a voice and manner, with a force of action and kindling of eye, that spoke from the heart to the heart, and evinced both what an intensity of belief was in the man and with what fearlessness, if need were, he would act as well as speak. The reputation, too, of the courage and resources he had already shown as a champion of the public rights had,

as we have seen, gone before him to this wider and higher field; and no doubt, however wild or extravagant his notions might be thought by some, many a suggestion or remark that dropped from him would confirm, with the great majority of his hearers, the favourable impression of his insight and faculty. At all events, that insight and faculty existed, and, whether recognized or not for the present, would be sure, in such a state of things as was now coming on, to make themselves be felt in due time. All old artificial props and ligaments were about to fall off, and older Nature to resume her supremacy and sole dominion, when the strong man would carry it over his fellows by the same law that makes the steel cut through the lead. Not, however, now, at the age to which the world has got, the man whose strength is of fleshly thews and sinews or mere ferocity of disposition, as in the infancy of society, but he of the strong heart united with the strong head. It was an age, as we have said, of deep convictions, which stirred the whole intellectual and spiritual being of men.

It appears from the Notes of the proceedings of the Long Parliament taken by Sir Simond D'Ewes, and now preserved in the British Museum (Harleian MSS. 162-166), that the debate of which Sir Philip Warwick had retained such recollection as we have just read probably took place on the sixth day of the session, Monday the 9th of November, on which day, we are there told, "Mr. Cromwell delivered the petition of John Lilburn." This Lilburn, afterwards famous for his rampant and restless fanaticism, had once been Prynne's amanuensis. No doubt it was in presenting his petition on this Monday, the whole of which is stated to have been spent in hearing grievances, that Cromwell made the fervent speech in the sharp and untunable voice described by Warwick. It was most probably the first time he had spoken.

Another early notice of him occurs in Lord Clarendon's account of his own Life. Among many other committees of which his Lordship, then Mr. Hyde, sat as

chairman in the beginning of the Long Parliament, was one, he says, "upon an enclosure which had been made of some great wastes belonging to some of the Queen's manors without the consent of the tenants, the benefit whereof had been given by the Queen to a servant of near trust, who forthwith sold the lands enclosed to the Earl of Manchester, Lord Privy Seal; who, together with his son Lord Mandevil, were now more concerned to maintain the enclosure; against which, as well the inhabitants of other manors, who claimed common in those wastes, as the Queen's tenants of the same, made loud complaints, as a great oppression, carried upon them with a very high hand, and supported by power." "The Committee," continues Clarendon, "sat in the Queen's Court; and Oliver Cromwell, being one of them, appeared much concerned to countenance the petitioners, who were numerous together with their witnesses; the Lord Mandevil being likewise present as a party, and, by direction of the committee, sitting covered. Cromwell (who had never before been heard to speak in the House of Commons), ordered the witnesses and petitioners in the method of the proceeding, and seconded and enlarged upon what they said with great passion; and the witnesses and persons concerned, who were a very rude kind of people, interrupted the counsel and witnesses on the other side with great clamour when they said anything that did not please them, so that Mr. Hyde (whose office it was to oblige men of all sorts to keep order) was compelled to use some sharp reproofs and some threats to reduce them to such a temper that the business might be quietly heard. Cromwell in great fury reproached the chairman for being partial, and that he discountenanced the witnesses by threatening them; the other appealed to the committee, which justified him, and declared that he behaved himself as he ought to do, which more inflamed him, who was already too much angry. When, upon any mention of matter of fact, or the proceeding before and at the enclosure, the Lord Mandevil desired to be heard, and with great modesty related what had been

done, or explained what had been said, Mr. Cromwell did answer and reply upon him with so much indecency and rudeness, and in language so contrary and offensive, that every man would have thought that, as their natures and their manners were as opposite as it is possible, so their interests could never have been the same.* In the end his whole carriage was so tempestuous, and his behaviour so insolent, that the chairman found himself obliged to reprehend him, and to tell him, if he proceeded in the same manner, he would adjourn the committee, and the next morning complain to the House of him; which he never forgave, and took all occasions afterwards to pursue him with the utmost malice and revenge to his death." Mr. Carlyle concludes, from an examination of the Journals, that these proceedings probably occurred in the beginning of July, 1641, and that they related to the Soke of Somersham, near St. Ives. "Cromwell," he observes, "knew this Soke of Somersham, near St. Ives, very well; knew these poor rustics, and what treatment they had got; and wished, not in the imperturbablest manner it would seem, to see justice done them. Here, too, subtracting the due subtrahend from Mr. Hyde's narrative, we have a pleasant visuality of an old summer-afternoon 'in the Queen's Court' two hundred years ago." Clarendon must have been mistaken (as he often is) in supposing that Cromwell had never yet spoken in the House.

He was soon, however, to make himself sufficiently well known on another scene, and by something more than speaking. Among other notices that we have of him in the momentous year 1642, are the following:—

* Lord Mandevil was soon after this summoned to the Upper House, while his father was yet alive, as Baron Montagu of Kimbolton (one of his father's titles); and he is the Lord Kimbolton impeached by the king along with the five members of the House of Commons, whom his majesty attempted to seize on the 4th of January, 1642, and the same who afterwards, when Earl of Manchester, commanded one of the parliamentary armies.

In the beginning of the year he is frequently mentioned as taking a busy and zealous part in the proceedings of the House in relation to the Popish rebellion in Ireland; and in a list, given by Rushworth, dated the 9th of April, he appears as a subscriber of 500*l.* for relieving the Protestants there.* This fact may be compared with Dugdale's story of his broken fortunes--his "low condition," and "mean lodgings," at the time of his election. When the war broke out, or was on the point of breaking out, the member for Cambridge^{*} was up and doing among the foremost. The King's commission of array for Leicestershire, the first that he issued, came out on the 12th of June; on the 15th of July D'Ewes records, that "Mr. Cromwell moved that we might make an order to allow the townsmen of Cambridge to raise two companies of Volunteers, and to appoint captains over them;" and on the same day the Journals testify that there was ordered to be repaid to him the sum of 100*l.*, which he had expended in sending down arms into Cambridgeshire, for the defence of that county. Soon after this he appears to have gone down to his county, and to have taken the direction of affairs there into his own hands: on the 15th of August it is reported, from the Commission for the Defence of the Kingdom, that "Mr. Cromwell, in Cambridgeshire, has seized the magazine in the Castle at Cambridge, and hath hindered the carrying off the plate from that University, which, as some report, was to the value of 20,000*l.*, or thereabouts;" and it is ordered that he have indemnity for having so acted. Finally, when the Parliamentary army was raised, and put under the command of the Earl of Essex, in September, Cromwell was made captain of one of the troops of horse (troop sixty-seven); and his eldest son Oliver, now a young man of twenty, cornet in another (troop eight).

* His offer two months before is stated, in words, to have been only 300*l.*; and the figure in Rushworth may perhaps be a misprint.

He was present with his troop at the battle of Edgehill, fought on Sunday, the 23rd of October. But nothing was decided by this encounter; nor for some time after did the war hold out any encouraging prospect to the Parliament. Cromwell may be fairly considered to have been the person who mainly turned the tide of affairs; first, by his general measures and suggestions, then by his military skill. Mr. Carlyle thus explains one of his services: "This winter (1642-3) there arise among certain counties 'Associations' for mutual defence against Royalism and plunderous Rupertism—a measure cherished by the Parliament, condemned as treasonable by the King. Of which associations, countable to the number of five or six, we name only one, that of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, Herts; with Lord Gray, of Wark, for commander; where, and under whom, Oliver was now serving. This 'Eastern Association' is alone worth naming. All the other associations, no man of emphasis being in the midst of them, fell in few months to pieces; only this of Cromwell's subsisted, enlarged itself, grew famous; and, indeed, kept its own borders clear of invasion during the whole course of the war. Oliver, in the beginning of 1643, is serving there, under the Lord Gray, of Wark. Besides his military duties, Oliver, as natural, was nominated of the committee for Cambridgeshire in this Association; he is also of the committee for Huntingdonshire, which as yet belongs to another 'Association.'" And Cromwell himself shall describe what he did in another matter. In a speech, delivered long afterwards, (on the 13th of April, 1657), to a committee of parliament, which waited upon him at Whitehall, he fell into the following interesting narrative of the early part of his public career:—"I was a person who, from my first employment, was suddenly preferred and lifted up from lesser trusts to greater, from my first being a captain of a troop of horse; and did labour as well as I could to discharge my trust; and God blessed me as it pleased him. And I did truly and plainly—and in a way of foolish simplicity, as it was judged by very great and

wise men, and good men, too,—desire to make my instruments help me in that work. And I will deal plainly with you : I had a very worthy friend then, and he was a very noble person, and I know his memory is very grateful to all—Mr. John Hampden. At my first going out into this engagement I saw our men were beaten at every hand. I did, indeed ; and desired him that he would make some additions to my Lord Essex's army, of some new regiments ; and I told him I would be serviceable to him in bringing such men in as I thought had a spirit that would do something in the work. This is very true that I tell you ; God knows I lie not. ' Your troops,' said I, ' are most of them old decayed serving-men and tapsters, and such kind of fellows ; and,' said I, ' their troops are gentlemen's sons, younger sons, and persons of quality ; do you think that the spirits of such base and mean fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen, that have honour and courage and resolution in them ? ' Truly I did represent to him in this manner conscientiously ; and truly I did tell him—' You must get men of a spirit ; and take it not ill what I say—I know you will not—of a spirit that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go ; or else you will be beaten still.' I told him so ; I did truly. He was a wise and worthy person ; and he did think that I talked a good notion, but an impracticable one. Truly I told him I could do something in it. I did so ; and truly I must needs say this to you—impute it to what you please,—I raised such men as had the fear of God before them ; as made some conscience of what they did ; and from that day forward, I must say to you, they were never beaten ; and wherever they were engaged against the enemy they beat continually." These were they who came to be popularly known as Cromwell's *Ironsides*—the Invincible Ironsides, against whom the shock of every battle broke itself as upon a rock of adamant.

Cromwell, as far as has been discovered, is first designated in the newspapers as Colonel in the beginning of March, 1643 ; he was colonel of a regiment of horse, his own Ironsides, raised by himself in the Eastern Counties.

We may gather a notion of the manner in which he was employed from the examination before the Commons, on the 13th of March, of Thomas Conisby, Esq., High Sheriff of Herts, who one market-day not long before, at St. Albans, had been attempting to execute one of the King's Commissions of Array, "when Cromwell's dragoons darted suddenly in upon him; laid him fast—not without some difficulty: he was first seized by 'six troopers,' but rescued by his Royalist multitude; then 'twenty troopers again seized him; 'barricadoed the inn-yard;' conveyed him off to London to give what account of the matter he could."* Or take the account given by Mr. John Cory, merchant of Norwich, in a letter to Sir John Potts, Bart., one of the deputy lieutenants of the city of Norwich, of what is called the meeting at Laystoff, or Lowestoff, in Suffolk; which letter D'Ewes has preserved and Mr. Carlyle has printed. On the night of Monday the 13th of March, Cory states, letters from Yarmouth informed the Colonel (that is, Cromwell) that the town of Lowestoff had received in divers strangers (Royalists), and was fortifying itself. Thereupon, Cory continues, "the Colonel advised no man might enter in or out the gates (of Norwich, where he then was) that night. And the next morning, between five and six, with his five troops, with Captain Fountain's, Captain Rich's, and eighty of our Norwich Volunteers, he marched towards Lowestoff; where he was met with the Yarmouth Volunteers, who brought four or five pieces of ordnance. The town (of Lowestoff) had blocked themselves up, all except where they had placed their ordnance, which were three pieces; before which a chain was drawn to keep off the horse. The Colonel summoned the town, and demanded if they would deliver up the strangers, the town, and their army—promising them then favour, if so; if not, none. They yielded to deliver up their strangers, but not the rest. Whereupon our Norwich dragoons crept under the chain before mentioned, and came within pistol-shot of their ordnance; proffering to fire upon their cannoneer, who

* Carlyle, I. 174.

fled : so they gained the two [three ?] pieces of ordnance, and broke the chain ; and they and the horse entered the town without more resistance." Eighteen strangers were found, who at once surrendered—one of them was Mr. F. Cory, "my unfortunate cousin," says the letter-writer, "who I wish would have been better persuaded." Not long after this, or on the 26th of May, the county of Huntingdon joined itself to the Eastern Association ; Lincolnshire was next cleared of the Royal forces by Cromwell, and it joined in September ; so that now the Association consisted of seven counties, which were often called the Seven Associated Counties. Neither royalist insurrection nor royalist invasion, nor royalist attempt of any kind, was ever after heard of in this district.

Meanwhile Cromwell had been appointed by the parliament, Governor of the Isle of Ely. "The Parliament affairs, this summer," to quote Mr. Carlyle's rapid, but comprehensive narrative, "have taken a bad course ; and, except it be in the Eastern Association, look every where declining. They have lost Bristol ; Essex's army has melted away, without any action of mark all summer, except the loss of Hampden in a skirmish : in the beginning of August the King breaks out from Oxford, very clearly superior in force ; goes to settle Bristol ; and might thence, it was supposed, have marched straight to London, if he had liked. He decides on taking Gloucester with him before he quits those parts. The Parliament, in much extremity, calls upon the Scots for help ; who under conditions will consent."

Things were in this state when, on the 10th of August, the Earl of Manchester (Lord Kimbolton that was) was appointed Sergeant-Major of the Seven Associated Counties, and commissioned to raise a new army of 10,000 men. Of four colonels of horse whom he has under him, Colonel Cromwell is one ; and he soon after appears as Manchester's Lieutenant, or second in command.

In the beginning of September, Essex raised the siege of Gloucester, and on the 20th of that month, returning from this achievement, fought the King at New-

bury, but with only so much success as enabled him to continue his march. Two days after the whole House of Commons and Assembly of Divines took the Solemn League and Covenant (embodying the fierce old anti-prelatical and intolerant Scotch Covenant) in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster; Cromwell among the rest, the signature next after his being that of young Sir Harry Vane.

On the 11th of October occurred the fight of Winceby, a small upland hamlet in the Wolds of Lincolnshire, about five miles west of Horncastle, in which Cromwell was in great danger; greater than he ever was in on any other occasion. Sir Thomas Fairfax, sent by his father, who was besieged in Hull by the Marquis of Newcastle, across the Humber, with a body of horse to do service under the Earl of Manchester, had effected a junction with Cromwell near Boston. After this ensued much marching and skirmishing. At last, all the night of Tuesday, the 10th, the Parliamentary horse were assembling from every quarter to the appointed rendezvous; and in the morning, Manchester gave orders that the whole force, both horse and foot, should be drawn up to Bolingbroke Hill, on the side of which, as the only convenient fighting-ground, he proposed to await the enemy. "But Colonel Cromwell," says an account which Vicars has given in the Third Part of his Parliamentary Chronicle, "was no way satisfied that we should fight; our horse being extremely wearied with hard duty two or three days together." The enemy, however, also the same morning collected all their force, being seventy-four columns of horse, and twenty-one columns of dragoons.* "We had not," continues the account in Vicars, "many more than half so many columns of horse and dragooners; but I believe we had as many men, besides our foot, which, indeed, could not be drawn up until it was very late. The enemy's word was *Cavendish* [in allusion to young General Cavendish, a cousin of the Earl of

* The dragoons, or dragooners, of those days, supposed to have derived their name from the figure of a dragon's head on the lock of their carbines, and always distinguished from the regular horse, were armed with carbine and sword, and fought occasionally on foot as well as on horseback.

Devonshire, slain in a previous action at Gainsborough in the latter end of July], and ours was *Religion*. I believe that, as we had no notice of the enemy's coming toward us, so they had as little of our preparation to fight with them. It was about twelve of the clock ere our horse and dragooners were drawn up. After that we marched about a mile nearer the enemy, and then we began to descry him, by little and little, coming toward us. Until this time we did not know we should fight, but, so soon as our men had knowledge of the enemy's coming, they were very full of joy and resolution, thinking it a great mercy that they should now fight with him. Our men went on in several bodies, singing psalms. Quartermaster-General Vermuyden with five troops had the forlorn hope, and Colonel Cromwell the van, assisted with other of my lord's troops, and seconded by Sir T. Fairfax." The armies met near Winceby. "Both they and we," the narrative goes on, "had drawn up our dragooners, who gave the first charge, and then the horse fell in. Colonel Cromwell fell with brave resolution upon the enemy immediately after their dragooners had given him the first volley; yet they were so nimble as that within half pistol-shot they gave him another: his horse was killed under him at the first charge, and fell down upon him; and as he rose up he was knocked down again by the gentleman who charged him, who 'twas conceived was Sir Ingram Hopton; but afterwards he recovered a poor horse in a soldier's hands, and bravely mounted himself again. Truly this first charge was so home given, and performed with so much admirable courage and resolution, by our troops, that the enemy stood not another, but were driven back upon their own body, which was to have seconded them; and at last put these into a plain disorder, and thus in less than half an hour's fight they were all quite worsted." The chase continued along a road still called by the expressive name of Slash Lane as far as to Horncastle, or beyond it. A few other towns on the western border of Lincolnshire were still held by the royalists; but they, too, were all delivered in the course of the following spring.

Meanwhile towards the close of January, 1644, the Scottish army, 21,000 strong, had arrived under the command of old General Alexander Lesley, whom the King had, in November, 1641, after what was called the Accommodation with Scotland, created Earl of Leven, but who had not been withdrawn by that elevation from his original party, the more rigid Presbyterians, or Covenanters. The siege of York followed in May; the Marquis of Newcastle being cooped up in the city with a body of 6000 royalists by the united forces of the Scots under Leven, the Yorkshiremen under Lord Fairfax, and the army of the associated counties under Manchester and Cromwell. They may have amounted in all to some twenty-five thousand men. In the end of June Prince Rupert arrived with 20,000 men to relieve the marquis, and the battle of Marston Moor, in the neighbourhood of York, followed on the evening of Tuesday, the 2nd of July. The result was the complete defeat and rout of the King's troops. In a letter written three days after to Colonel Valentine Walton, who had married his sister Margaret, and whose son had fallen in this bloody field, Cromwell thus sums up what had been achieved: "Truly England and the Church of God hath had a great favour from the Lord, in this great victory given unto us, such as the like never was since this war began. It had all the evidences of an absolute victory obtained by the Lord's blessing upon the godly party principally. We never charged, but we routed the enemy. The left wing, which I commanded, being our own horse, saving a few Scots in our rear, beat all the Prince's horse. God made them as stubble to our swords. We charged their regiments of foot with our horse, and routed all we charged. The particulars I cannot relate now; but I believe, of twenty thousand, the Prince hath not four thousand left." York surrendered a few days after.

But now, when the war had at last come to look decidedly well for the Parliament, began to appear divergence of views, and then open dissension, among the parliamentary leaders and military commanders. On the 25th of November, we find Lieutenant-General Crom-

well exhibiting in the House of Commons a series of distinct charges against the Earl of Manchester, beginning with the allegation "that the said earl hath always been indisposed and backward to engagements and the ending of the war with the sword; and for such a peace as a victory would be a disadvantage to; and hath declared this by principles express to that purpose, and a continued series of carriage and actions answerable." And on the 9th of December he is recorded to have addressed the House in the following terms: "It is now a time to speak, or for ever hold the tongue. . . . For what do the enemy say? Nay, what do many say that were friends at the beginning of the Parliament? Even this, that the members of both Houses have got great places and commands, and the sword into their hands and, what by interest in Parliament, what by power in the Army, will perpetually continue themselves in grandeur, and not permit the war speedily to end, lest their own power should determine with it." Soon after was passed, readily by the Commons but very reluctantly by the Lords, the famous Self-denying Ordinance, incapacitating members of either House from holding either civil employments or commands in the army. After having been once rejected by the Lords, it was finally agreed to by that House, on the 3rd of April, 1645. Meanwhile, on the 21st of January, Sir Thomas Fairfax had been nominated General-in-Chief of the Army; the re-arrangement of which, or, what was called the New Model, was completed on the 19th of February.

Cromwell, however, was never himself subjected to the operation of the Self-denying Ordinance. It was not to take effect till forty days after the date of its passing; and when this space expired Fairfax requested that he might not lose the services of so able an officer, and the two Houses agreed that he should hold his commission forty days longer. Before the end of that time the importance of his services in a military capacity had been still more satisfactorily illustrated to the universal conviction, and the ordinance was further suspended in his favour for three months. After this the suspension was

constantly renewed for the same length of time, his presence with the army having now evidently become indispensable.

It was during the currency of the second of these terms of forty days, or under the first suspension of the ordinance, that the great battle of Naseby, in Northamptonshire, was fought on the 14th of June. Cromwell here commanded the right wing of the parliamentary army; and, while Ireton and his cavalry on the left were swept away by the impetuous onset of Prince Rupert, he, after driving back Sir Marmaduke Langdale, to whom he was in the first instance opposed, fell upon the Royal infantry, the only remaining force the King had in the field, and won a brilliant victory before Prince Rupert had returned from the pursuit of Ireton's scattered horse. The battle, however, had not been a mere sudden onset on the one side and flight on the other; it had been long and obstinately disputed; in his letter to Lenthall, the Speaker, written that same evening, Cromwell himself describes it as having been very doubtful for three hours. The killed and taken of the Royal army amounted to about 5000, including a great number of officers. Some ladies of quality were also captured, and all the king's baggage, with many of his private papers. "We pursued the enemy," writes Cromwell, "from three miles short of Harborough to nine beyond, even to the sight of Leicester, whither the king fled." From Leicester, too, Charles fled after a stay of only a few hours; and that town, which the Royal forces had taken a few days before, was recovered for the Parliament a few days after.

The army now marched into the South-west. Here its first great achievement was the storming of Bristol, held by Prince Rupert, which took place on the 14th of September, and in which Cromwell bore the principal part. It was followed on the same day in the next month by the storming, conducted also under Cromwell's command, of Basing-house, in Hampshire, the strongly fortified mansion of the Marquis of Winchester, which was the most formidable place of strength that now

held out for the king, and the capture of which may be said to have in fact ended the war, although there were still a few other points where the royal standard continued for some time longer to wave. The last of these, Ragland Castle, in Worcestershire, the house of the Marquis of Worcester, was not reduced till the 17th of August, 1646.

On the 27th of April, 1646, the King left Oxford, and delivered himself up to the Scots; by whom, on the 11th of February, 1647, he was made over to the Commissioners of the Parliament. Cromwell, meanwhile, having resumed his place in Parliament, though still retaining his command in the army, which had in the greater part been drawn to the neighbourhood of the capital, had, in the growing separation of the two parties, assumed his place more distinctly than heretofore on the side of the Independents as opposed to the Presbyterians, which was also that of the Army, and probably the majority of the country, as opposed to the Parliament and the city of London. The latter, indeed, could count upon the Scots as their firm allies. But for the present the former acquired an important accession of strength by the bold exploit of Cornet Joyce, who, in the beginning of June, 1647, carried off the King from Holmby, and gave the army the possession of the royal person. The great events that followed can be merely enumerated here. Soon after eleven members, the chiefs of the Presbyterian party, were compelled, on the demand of the army, to withdraw from the House of Commons; on the night of the 11th of November the King made his escape from Hampton Court, and fled to the Isle of Wight; and there, in Carisbrook Castle, and afterwards in Hurst Castle, on the opposite coast of Hampshire, he was detained in close custody by order of the Parliament, now sufficiently reduced under military control.

The war, however, now broke out afresh. By May, 1648, the Presbyterian Royalists of Wales were in insurrection, and a Scotch army, said to number 40,000 men, under the Duke of Hamilton, was about to cross the border. Cromwell proceeded first to the West, and laid siege

to Pembroke Castle, into which Colonel Poyer had thrown himself for the King ; that stronghold surrendered on the 11th of July, and then he hastened to the North to meet Hamilton, whom he encountered at Preston on the 17th of August, and in that and the two following days scattered to the winds. From Lancashire the victorious commander continued his march to Edinburgh, which he reached in the beginning of October. All Presbyterian opposition in the north gave way before him ; the war elsewhere also rapidly expired ; and by the beginning of December he was again in London, and the din of arms once more hushed in all parts of the kingdom. He arrived in town on the evening of the day, Wednesday, the 6th of December, on which Colonel Pride had begun his famous drastic purification of the House of Commons, or seizure and expulsion by force of arms of the obnoxious members. After all this came the trial of the King in January, 1649, and his execution on the 30th of that month. Cromwell attended at every session of the High Court of Justice except one ; and his name was the third of the fifty-nine attached to the warrant, the first being that of Bradshaw, the President, the second that of Lord Groby (or Thomas Grey, as he here subscribed it).

The country remained without any visible executive government, or any distinct from the Parliament, or rather its lord and master, the Army, for more than a fortnight. At length, on the 13th of February, an ordinance was passed appointing forty-one persons to form a Council of State. Of this body Cromwell, of course, was one. He seems to have been chosen their first President, when they met at Derby House to begin the exercise of their functions on Saturday, the 17th. Eventually Bradshaw was appointed permanent President. The first movement against the new government proceeded from the Levellers, or ultra-democratic section of the army ; and to suppress this rising flame was the first mission upon which Cromwell was sent. He trod it out by the execution of three of the ringleaders of the sedition in the churchyard of Burford, in Oxfordshire, on Thurs-

day the 17th of May. But before this it had been arranged that he should proceed as Lord Lieutenant and Commander-in-Chief to Ireland, which, as usual, required to be conquered over again before it would submit to the new order of things. He set out from London on the 10th of July; arrived at Bristol on the 14th; continued there collecting his forces and making preparations till the end of the month; then marched on to Milford Haven; sailed thence on the 13th of August; reached Dublin on the 15th, and, with as little delay as might be, commenced operations in the most determined style. The town of Drogheda (or Tredah, as it was then more commonly called) was taken by storm on the 12th of September, and all persons found in arms within the walls put to the sword. A terrible example; but it answered its purpose. Dundalk and Trim immediately surrendered without any attempt at resistance; Wexford was taken by storm, with the slaughter of some two thousand of the enemy, on the 11th of October; Ross surrendered, when on the point of being stormed, on the 19th; Cork, Youghal, and other towns then came in of their own accord. Cromwell, however, was obliged to leave the work thus prosperously begun to be carried on by others—first by Ireton, who died in the course of it; then by Ludlow, who brought it to a finish in the course of the year 1652. The Lord Lieutenant was called away in May, 1650, to another field.

Scotland too now required reduction. The Scots hated Independency as much as or more than they hated Prelacy; the one was only opposed to their favourite Presbyterianism, the other was a sort of mock or bastard Presbyterianism, the very likeness of which to the true or legitimate faith made it the more dangerous and detestable; besides, Presbyterianism had been conquered, and to a great extent supplanted in England by this new and perverted system. Then they had also a theory of civil polity, to which they clung with nearly as much obstinacy as to their peculiar ecclesiastical institutions. They had no scruple about rising in arms against the King, or about reducing him by every means in their

power to the last extremity; but they objected to touching his life. The great act of the 30th of January had struck with horror even those of them who had, in fact, contributed most to bring it about, whether by first marching to the aid of the English Parliament, or by afterwards delivering up Charles to that body. These principles had now led them to recognize Charles II.; he on his part had consented to make profession of Presbyterianism: and so here was all Scotland, under its Covenanted King, setting the English Parliament and its new Commonwealth at defiance. On the 26th of June Cromwell was constituted Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of all the forces within the Commonwealth of England; and three days after he set out from London for the north. He reached Musselburgh, in the neighbourhood of the Scottish capital, before the end of July, no attempt having been made to oppose him up to this time; but here, in front of Edinburgh, lay General David Leslie, on ground where he could not be attacked, and from which it was soon found that he could no more be drawn than driven. Cromwell remained till the 30th of August, and then, with the winter coming on, and supplies uncertain, determined to retrace his steps. Pursued by the Scots, he got as far as Dunbar; but here all further progress became impossible, except such as might be made by the sword. He was shut up in a corner, and the enemy had gathered round him on all sides; but when escape seemed hopeless, early in the morning of the 3rd of September, instead of waiting to be overwhelmed, he, by a brilliant and unexpected movement, suddenly commenced the attack, and obtained a signal victory. The peril Cromwell was in before this deliverance, and the collected and resolute mind with which he confronted the destruction that threatened to overwhelm him, are well expressed in the following note (published for the first time in Mr. Carlyle's work) which he wrote to Sir Arthur Haselrig, the Governor of Newcastle, on the day before the battle: "Dear Sir, we are upon an engagement very difficult. The enemy hath blocked up our way at the Pass at Coppers-

path [Cockburnspath], through which we cannot get without almost a miracle. He lieth so upon the hills that we know not how to come that way without great difficulty ; and our lying here daily consumeth our men, who fall sick beyond imagination. I perceive your forces are not in a capacity for present release. Wherefore, whatever becomes of us, it will be well for you to get what forces you can together ; and the South to help what they can. The business nearly concerneth all good people. If your forces had been in a readiness to have fallen upon the back of Copperspath, it might have occasioned supplies to have come to us. But the only wise God knows what is best. All shall work for good. Our spirits are comfortable, praised be the Lord, though our present condition be as it is. And indeed we have much hope in the Lord ; of whose mercy we have had large experience. Indeed, do you get what forces you can against them. Send to friends in the South to help with more. Let H. Vane know what I write. I would not make it public, lest danger should accrue thereby. You know what use to make hereof. Let me hear from you. I rest your servant, Oliver Cromwell."

Cromwell now returned to Edinburgh, where, except the garrison in the castle, there was no longer any force to oppose him ; from Edinburgh he proceeded to Glasgow, which city also submitted without any attempt at resistance ; Edinburgh Castle surrendered on the 24th of December. This capital was his head quarters for the next six months ; in July, 1651, the army passed over to Fife, and there in like manner carried every thing before it ; in short, by the beginning of August, throughout all the Low Country of Scotland, Stirling and Dundee remained almost the only places of importance that held out for King Charles. In this state of things the Scots and their King suddenly formed the resolution of making a dash into England. Thither, too, Cromwell followed them, and the result was the battle of Worcester, fought on the 3rd of September, 1651, the anniversary of that of Dunbar. Cromwell was again victorious, and the Royal cause was trodden into the bloody

earth. Dundee had been stormed by Lieutenant-General Monk two days before, so that the conquest of Scotland was now complete.

“Worcester’s laureate wreath,” as Milton phrases it, was the last that Cromwell won actually with sword in hand. This “crowning mercy,” as he himself called it in his letter written the day after to Lenthall, finally established the government of the Commonwealth. It also made Cromwell distinctly and indisputably the greatest man in England—“our chief of men,” as he was hailed in Milton’s sonnet. The rest of his life belongs rather to history than to biography. The first memorable business in which he figures after this is the famous meeting of members of parliament and officers of the army, which, Whitlocke tells us, he called at the Speaker’s house soon after his arrival in town (probably in the end of September or beginning of October) to consider what should be done for a settlement of the nation. It came to nothing for the present; but, in so far as Whitlocke’s memory and honesty are to be trusted, the Lord General seems to have already begun to incline to the opinion that a government by a single person might be necessary or most expedient—what he described as “a settlement with somewhat of monarchical power in it.” It is very likely, we think, that he really did both entertain and express such an opinion. And, probably enough also, he may have thought, looking around him, that, as circumstances stood, he was himself both the likeliest and the fittest person to be chosen as that single head. It is certain, at any rate, that, if such a form of government had been determined upon, he was the person whom the all but unanimous voice of Puritan England would even at this early date have fixed upon. However, that arrangement was not yet to take place. A war with the Dutch, which broke out in the summer of 1652, illustrated the reign of the Long Parliament with what proved to be a last flush of glory. That body, now reduced to a fag-end of about fifty members, expressively denominated the Rump, had, for all its memorable history, become a weariness and contempt to the nation—

which universally felt that these fifty individuals had no more right to sit where they did, monopolizing the management and dividing the plunder of the State, than any other knot of persons who might club together and assume similar powers of their own authority. There never was another government but had some foundation, or show of foundation, either of right or might, to stand upon ; but this had none whatever. They were there merely because they were tolerated, endured, let alone ; because it had not yet been agreed upon who should take their place. To all but themselves—who, indeed, like the piping shepherd in the Arcadia, went debating on, and fabricating their ordinances and their jobs, as if they meant never to have ended—as if England was to be Rump-ridden till the day of doom—it was evident that there must be a change. Cromwell was clearly the man to strike the blow ; which he did by going down with his musqueteers on the famous 20th of April, 1653, and clearing the House.

With the Parliament disappeared also its creation, the Council of State ; so that there remained no constituted authority in the nation except that of Cromwell, the Captain-General and Commander of the Forces. He and his chief officers thereupon formed themselves into a new Interim Council of State. The moment, as it appeared to them, was not one for a general popular election ; at the same time they did not desire to retain the powers of government longer than might be necessary in their own hands ; they therefore immediately issued summonses to a hundred and forty persons, characterized in the document, and no doubt believed by its framers to be, “persons fearing God, and of approved fidelity and honesty.” They were, of course, all of the Puritan party, and supposed likely to be favourable to the establishment of a government upon a Puritan basis. It is acknowledged by Whitlocke that many of them were persons of fortune and knowledge. This is what is called the Little Parliament, or Barebone’s Parliament, the latter nickname being given to it in allusion to one of the members, a Mr. Praisegod Barbone, leather-merchant in Fleet-

street, who does not appear, however, to have had anything else ridiculous about him except his name. Properly speaking, it was not a parliament, but rather such a convention as has been more than once called together upon similar emergencies, when circumstances did not permit the election of a parliament. The experiment in this instance, however, did not succeed. They met on the 4th of July, when Cromwell addressed them in a long speech, explaining with much painstaking the reasons or rather the necessity of the course he had taken; but more, apparently, from the insuperable difficulties of the task to which they had been set than owing to any peculiar incompetency in the men, they deemed it expedient on the 12th of December to pass a vote declaring that their sitting any longer would not be for the good of the Commonwealth; and that therefore it was requisite to deliver up unto the Lord General Cromwell the powers which they had received from him.

Again left alone, and as it were Dictator, Cromwell now to the existing Council of State, consisting of the chief officers of the army, associated by invitation a number of "other persons of interest in the nation;" and by this assembly before the end of the week, namely, on Friday, the 16th, he was declared Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; an instrument or scheme of government being at the same time agreed upon and proclaimed, by which it was appointed that the Lord Protector should be assisted in the administration of affairs by a Council of State composed of fifteen or twenty-one persons, and also that a parliament freely elected by the people, though according to an amended plan of representation, should assemble on the 3rd of September, 1653. Such a parliament, called the First Protectorate Parliament, did accordingly meet on that memorable anniversary; but its proceedings were soon found to have any other tendency rather than that of settling the nation; and the Protector, under the authority vested in him, dissolved it on the 22nd of January thereafter.

Then followed the government of the ten Major-Ge-

nerals, military lieutenants of the Lord Protector, each appointed to superintend his district or portion of the country, which lasted for about a year, or from the autumn of 1655 to that of 1656. Meanwhile the Second Protectorate Parliament had been called, and had commenced its sittings on the 17th of September of the latter year. The members had been again elected according to the reformed plan of representation; but the Protector and his council deemed it expedient that of those returned nearly a hundred, being about a fourth of the whole number, should, as disaffected or suspected, be restrained for the present from taking their seats. Their exclusion was an act of arbitrary power, no doubt; it was a proceeding unauthorized by any law, by any clause of the constitution, or instrument of government; but it does not follow that it was in the circumstances either an unwise or wicked exercise of power. The state of affairs was anomalous altogether; the entire edifice and system of the government stood upon a basis of arbitrary authority; inviolable constitutional rights and forms were for settled and ordinary times, not for such a crisis of convulsion and birth-agony as the present. We must understand the summoning of a parliament at all at such a moment to be merely an experiment or effort made with the object of transforming a government which of necessity had till now been a military despotism into a government of law and free institutions. And even with all the precautions that were taken the experiment for the present failed. The last parliament had got itself dismissed for its ultra-democratical tendencies; this one, taking the opposite tack, would be satisfied with nothing less than that the Protector should set up a House of Lords and change his title of Protector for that of King. After much negotiation and consultation Oliver finally rejected the latter proposition; but the House of Lords was actually tried. Sixty-three persons were summoned, of whom above forty attended and formed an Upper House, which commenced its sittings on the 20th of January, 1658, with the second session of this Second Protectorate Parliament. On the preceding 26th of June, also, the day on which

the first session had terminated, a new inauguration or installation of the Lord Protector had been solemnized with extraordinary pomp and ceremony. But the framework of society had not yet sufficiently recovered from the shock of the violent revolution it had passed through; it had not regained sufficient solidity and firmness to stand the working of this or probably of any other political system in which an attempt should be made to combine antagonistic forces. The two Houses, representing the two elements or powers of democracy and aristocracy, could not be brought into harmonious action. The Lord Protector, therefore, found it necessary to dissolve this Second Parliament also before it should do any more mischief. He came down and dismissed the two Houses on the 4th of February, when the session had lasted about a fortnight. The time for parliamentary government in England under the new dynasty, and the new state of things in all respects, had evidently not yet arrived. Only government by a single person, in other words absolutism or despotism, was as yet practicable.

It was fortunate, such being the case, that the country had such a despot or absolute ruler as did actually preside over it. The government of the Protectorate had, except in those respects in which good government was, from the circumstances of the time and the state of men's minds, impossible, been as successful a government as ever was known in England. It was not what is called a free government; the popular sense, or nonsense, had no voice in it; the subject even might be said to have no recognized rights of any kind as against the sovereign. Yet in point of fact any thing deserving the name of oppression was unknown; pertinacious opponents and disturbers of the government were, indeed, in some cases summarily enough disposed of, as was quite necessary; but nobody who chose to live quietly and in due obedience was molested or interfered with; justice, it is admitted on all hands, was fairly administered by the magistrates and courts of law; taxation was light; even freedom of opinion and profession, both political and religious, was permitted and protected so far as was consistent with the

maintenance of the established institutions and the public peace. An absolute ruler less inclined to blood or cruelty than was Oliver Cromwell never existed; even Clarendon, who hated both the cause and the man, acknowledges that he was always opposed to sanguinary courses. Resolute soldier as he was, and capable as he showed himself to be of using the sword with unsparing severity when such was deemed necessary or expedient, he was unquestionably a kind-hearted man, and, with all the strictness of his religious creed and practice, full of all gentle affections.

England, too, never stood in higher estimation with foreign powers and nations than it did while under the sway of Cromwell; the honour, dignity, and greatness of the country had never been better maintained by any preceding ruler. The Dutch were compelled to sue for peace; advantageous treaties, first of peace, afterwards of alliance, were made with France, one of the results being the acquisition of Dunkirk; Spain was also humbled, and Jamaica wrested from her. No words can be stronger than those of Clarendon upon this part of the Protector's character and conduct:—"His greatness at home was but a shadow of the glory he had abroad. It was hard to discover which feared him most, France, Spain, or the Low Countries, where his friendship was current at the value he put upon it. As they did all sacrifice their honour and interest to his pleasure, so there is nothing he could have demanded that either of them would have denied him."

In Clarendon's eyes Cromwell is of course a very wicked, but he is also a very great, man. "He was," he elsewhere says, "one of those men whom his very enemies could not condemn without commending him at the same time; for he could never have done half that mischief without great parts of courage, industry, and judgment. He must have had a wonderful understanding in the natures and humours of men, and as great a dexterity in applying them; who from a private and obscure birth (though of a good family), without interest or estate, alliance or friendship, could raise himself to such a

height, and compound and knead such opposite and contradictory tempers, humours, and interests into a consistence that contributed to his designs and to their own destruction; whilst himself grew insensibly powerful enough to cut off those by whom he had climbed in the instant that they projected to demolish their own building. What was said of Cinna may very justly be said of him. He attempted those things which no good man durst have ventured on; and achieved those in which none but a valiant and great man could have succeeded. Without doubt, no man with more wickedness ever attempted anything, or brought to pass what he desired more wickedly, more in the face and contempt of religion and moral honesty; yet wickedness as great as his could never have accomplished those designs without the assistance of a great spirit, an admirable circumspection and sagacity, and a most magnanimous resolution." This is praise from an enemy that leaves nothing further to be desired.

Clarendon also confirms what we are told by Sir Philip Warwick of the manner in which Cromwell's demeanour and personal presence grew in dignity and elevation with the exaltation of his fortunes:—"When he appeared first in parliament, he seemed to have a person in no degree gracious [graceful], no ornament of discourse, none of those talents which use to conciliate the affections of the stander-by; yet, as he grew into place and authority, his parts seemed to be raised, as if he had had concealed faculties till he had occasion to use them; and when he was to act the part of a great man, he did it without any indecency, notwithstanding the want of custom."

Exertion and anxiety seem to have made Cromwell prematurely old. He has been often quoted as one of the most remarkable examples of the acquisition of great distinction in a public career after it had been entered upon comparatively late in life; and in that respect his case is doubly extraordinary, seeing that the eminence and renown he thus achieved were in two fields, both in statesmanship and in war. He was three-and-forty be-

fore he ever drew a sword ; yet he became a commander who was never beaten. But the brevity of so illustrious a military career deserves also to be noted : it extends only, from the fight of Edge-hill to that of Worcester, over the period of about nine years. His strength was beginning to break before it was over. On the 4th of September, 1650, the day after the battle of Dunbar, he writes to his wife :—" The Lord hath showed us an exceeding mercy : who can tell how great it is ! My weak faith hath been upheld. I have been in my inward man marvellously supported ;—though I assure thee I grow an old man, and feel infirmities of age marvellously stealing upon me." In the course of the following summer, while he was still in Scotland, he had three severe attacks of ague. In the autumn of 1658, however, his look is said to have been yet strong and young for his years. But he was already confined to bed with an attack of gout, when his favourite daughter Elizabeth, the wife of John Claypole, Esq., whom he had created Lord Claypole, after a long and distressing illness, died at Hampton Court, on the 6th of August, at the age of twenty-nine. He never recovered this blow. He got up, and is recorded to have been on horseback in the park at Hampton Court on Friday, the 20th of August ; but on the next day symptoms of fever appeared ; on Tuesday he was by the advice of the physicians removed from Hampton Court to Whitehall for better air ; and there he lingered till the morning of the 3rd of September, when he breathed his last on that anniversary of his signal deliverance at Dunbar and his crowning victory at Worcester.

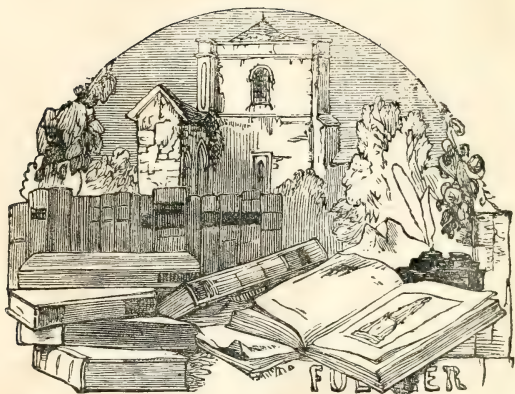
His body, after lying in state at Somerset House, was interred in Westminster Abbey, in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, among the English kings and queens. The funeral was celebrated on the 23rd of November, some time after the actual interment, with extraordinary magnificence. On the Restoration the new government had the remains of the great Protector dug up and exposed on the gallows at Tyburn ; after which the rest of the skeleton was buried at the gallows' foot, and the

skull was stuck upon a pole and set up on Westminster Hall. Such was the spirit of that age!

Oliver was succeeded in the Protectorate by his eldest son Richard; who, however, deserted by everybody, resigned his unsuitable dignity after holding it for about seven months; and, retiring into private life, existed in obscurity till he died at Cheshunt on the 12th of July, 1712, at the age of eighty-six. His wife, Dorothy, daughter of Richard Major, or Mayor, Esq., of Hursley, in Hampshire, had died long before at Hursley, on the 5th of January, 1676. They had nine children, none of whom, however, left any descendants.

Elizabeth, the wife of Oliver Cromwell, retired after the Restoration to the house of her son-in-law, Claypole, at Norborough in Lincolnshire, and died there in 1665.

Of their other children who grew up, Oliver the eldest is believed to have been killed in July, 1648; Henry, who was Lord Deputy in Ireland, married a daughter of Sir Francis Russell, Bart., of Chippenham, in Cambridgeshire, and died at Spinney Abbey, near Wicken, in Cambridgeshire, in 1674, having had by his wife, besides two daughters, five sons, descendants from Henry, the second of whom, still exist; Bridget, married first to Ireton, and after his death to Fleetwood, died at Stoke Newington, in 1681; Elizabeth, Lady Claypole, as mentioned above, died in 1658; and Mary, born at St. Ives, in 1637, who became the second wife of Thomas Viscount (afterwards Earl) Fauconberg, died in 1712, about three months before her brother Richard.



WHEN Coleridge wrote at the end of Fuller's Church History, "Next to Shakspeare, I am not certain whether Fuller, beyond all other writers, does not excite in me the sense and emotion of the marvellous," he doubtless expressed himself more unguardedly than he would have done, had he been writing for the press. But if this opinion of his appear to require some qualification, what he elsewhere wrote requires none:—"His wit, alike in quantity, quality, and perpetuity, surpassing that of the wittiest in a witty age, has robbed him of the praise not less due to him for an equal superiority in sound, shrewd, good sense and freedom of intellect."*

In the last century Fuller had fallen into comparative neglect, and when spoken of, it was as a quaint and odd writer—one to be laughed at, not to be listened to with respect. A truer and better feeling is gaining ground now, and Fuller is becoming more known, and of conse-

* 'Literary Remains,' ii. 381.



1711

quence more esteemed; for while, as Coleridge truly says, "Wit was the stuff and substance of Fuller's intellect, the element, the earthen base, the material which he worked in; this very substance has defrauded him of his due praise for the practical wisdom of the thought, for the beauty and variety of the truths into which he shaped the stuff. Fuller was incomparably the most sensible, the least prejudiced great man of an age that boasted a galaxy of great men. He is a very voluminous writer; and yet, in all his numerous volumes on so many different subjects, it is scarcely too much to say that you will hardly find a page in which some one sentence out of every three does not deserve to be quoted for itself as motto or as maxim."

Fuller's character is best seen in his works. His life has been "endeavoured" often, and the particulars of it carefully investigated, but without much profit. The year after his death an anonymous biography was published which has served as the treasury to which all succeeding writers have resorted: it was written evidently by one who knew and valued him, and many minute traits of his character are related in a pleasant naïve manner. Oldys, one of the most laborious of men, wrote the Memoir of Fuller in the *Biographia Britannica*, and has given everything which his utmost diligence could discover: it is a full honest piece of joinery, but terribly dull. In 1844, a volume was published, entitled 'Memorials of the Life and Works of Thomas Fuller, D.D., by the Rev. A. T. Russell, B.C.L.,' which we opened with some eagerness from finding in the introduction a long list of the names of presidents and fellows of colleges, doctors, county historians, rectors, curates, registrars, and other learned men who had assisted the author in his investigations. But "put not your trust in princes:" we found almost nothing new about Fuller; though a good deal of genealogical information about parties mentioned by him, and also descriptions and criticisms of steeples, piscinas, altars, gowns, tradition, and other church matters; and though referring to one of the wittiest of men, these Memorials are dull as a

herald's pedigree — not a smile illumines the whole collection.

Thomas Fuller was born in June, 1608. "God in his providence," he writes in his 'Mixt Contemplations,' "fixed my nativity in a remarkable place. I was born at Aldwinckle, in Northamptonshire, where my father was the painful preacher of St. Peter's. This village was distanced one good mile west from Achurch, where Mr. Brown, founder of the Brownists, did dwell, whom, out of curiosity, when a youth, I often visited. It was likewise a mile and a half distant from East Laveden, where Francis Tresham, Esquire, so active in the gunpowder treason, had a large demesne and ancient habitation." To these personal reminiscences, which rendered Aldwinckle, in Fuller's esteem, "a remarkable place," we may add, that in the rectory of the adjoining parish of Aldwinckle, All Saints, John Dryden was born.

The Rev. Thomas Fuller, the father of our Thomas, was a devoted and laborious minister, a careful avoider of every occasion of strife, a learned man, and the friend and correspondent of many of his most learned contemporaries. Under his superintendence the education of Thomas was conducted in a private school at Aldwinckle until he reached his thirteenth year, when he was removed to Cambridge and entered as a student at Queen's College, of which his uncle Davenent, bishop of Salisbury, was president. The only notice of his youthful days is recorded by the gossiping and not very trustworthy Aubrey, and is much of the usual quality of his commodities :*—"Thomas Fuller was a boy of a pregnant wit, and when (his uncle) the bishop and his father were discoursing, he would be by and hearken, and now and then put in, and sometimes beyond expectation, for his years. He was of a middle stature, strong set, curled hair, a very working head, insomuch that walking and meditating before dinner, he would eat up a penny-loaf, not knowing that he did it." In 1624-5, being in his sixteenth year, Fuller took his degree of B.A., and that of M.A. in 1628. His uncle the bishop, who carefully watched

* Letters from the Bodleian, ii. 354.

ever his interests while at Cambridge, sought strenuously to obtain his election to a fellowship in his college, but without success. Fuller in consequence removed, in 1629, to Sidney Sussex College, where he had Dr. Ward for his tutor, a man of considerable learning and inflexible integrity; whose worth is recorded by his pupil in his 'Worthies of Durham;' "he turned with the times, as a rock riseth with the tide."

While at college appeared the first heir of his invention, like the firstlings of so many authors, a poem: it is entitled 'David's Hainous Sin, Heartie Repentance, Heavie Punishment.' Published in his twenty-third year, it is a very immature production; but exhibits many premonitions of his future genius. It is very scarce, indeed almost unknown, and very little would be gained by its resuscitation. Yet, as illustrating the progress of Fuller's mind, it has its value. Most of his peculiarities are discernible in it: there are the fondness for alliteration and playing upon words, the discursions, and something of the wit that distinguish his later productions. Speaking of the death of David's child, he writes—

"In vain the wit of wisest men doth strive
To cut off this entail, that doth derive
Death unto all, when first they are alive!"

Yet this is followed by a passage of much beauty, though disfigured by its expression:—

"As when a tender rose begins to blow,
Yet scarce unswaddled is, some wanton maid,
Pleas'd with the smell, allured with the show,
Will not reprieve it till it hath display'd
The folded leaves, but to her breast applies
Th' abortive bud, where confined it lies
Losing the blushing die, before it dies."

He takes the opportunity, as young men are apt, to gird at the fair sex. Placing the patriarchal times in contrast with his own, he exclaims—

"Ah happy age, when ladies learnt to bake,
And when king's daughters knew to knead a cake!"

Rebecka was esteem'd of comely hew,
 Yet not so nice her comeliness to keep,
 But that she water for the camels drew;
 Rachel was fair, yet fed her father's sheep.

But now for to supply Rebecka's place
 Or do as Rachel did, is counted base;
 Our dainty dames would take it in disgrace!"

Although his first venture in authorship was in rhyme, he did not repeat the experiment. From this time, indeed, his muse appears to have been rather sparing of her favours; except a few verses prefixed to the publication of an acquaintance, he meddled no more with metre till, towards the end of his life, he was inspired to celebrate 'His Majesty's Happy Return' in a 'Panegyric,' which was first printed separately; but afterwards inserted in his 'Worthies' (Worcestershire), with an intimation that his "Muse craves her own *Nunc Dimittis*, never to make verses more."

The year before the publication of his poem Fuller was presented by the master and fellows of Corpus Christi College to the living of St. Benet's, Cambridge. Already he appears to have gained much celebrity, and his preaching was attentively listened to. Twenty-four years later he published the lectures which he delivered at St. Benet's, on the book of Ruth, assigning as a reason for doing so, that others intended to publish them from notes taken at the time of their delivery.

In the following year, 1631, Bishop Davenant presented him to the prebendal stall of Hetherbury, in his Cathedral of Salisbury, and in 1634, to the rectory of Broad-Windsor, Dorsetshire; Fuller having previously resigned the curacy of St. Benet's.

The seven years he spent at Broad-Windsor were probably the happiest of his life: nor were they spent in indolence. In this pleasant retirement Fuller laid the foundation of his future eminence. Whilst he lived here some of his best pieces were written, and some others are said to have been planned and partly composed, though not completed until long afterwards. As a parish priest, he

gained the sincere esteem of his flock: insomuch, that when he went to Cambridge to take his degree of B.D. at the "commencement" in 1635, his earliest biographer (Oxon, 1662) relates that four of his chief parishioners requested to be allowed "to wait on him to Cambridge, to testify their exceeding engagements; it being the sense and request of the whole parish. This kindness was so present and so resolutely pressed that the doctor, with many thanks for that and other demonstrations of their love towards him, gladly accepted of their company, and with his customary innate pleasantness entertained their time to the journey's end."

In those days it was the custom to give a dinner upon the taking of a degree: and it was as much a point of honour that the feast should be liberal as that the degree should be commendable. Accordingly, his biographer adds, "by the way, that this commencement cost the doctor for his particular the sum of seven score pounds: an evidence of his liberality and largeness of mind proportionable to his other capacities, and yet than which nothing was less studied. At his departure he was dismissed with as honourable valedictions, and so returned in the same company (who had out of their own purse contributed another addition of honour to that solemnity) to his said rectory at Broad-Windsor, resolving there to spend himself and the time of his pilgrimage amongst his dear and loving charge."

But it was not so ordained. Had peaceful times continued, probably he would long have enjoyed the broad meadows and agreeable society of this pleasant neighbourhood, and at length have stepped quietly into an episcopal chair, instead of pursuing the somewhat erratic course he was driven to take. In 1640 he attended the convocation at which was imposed, by the authority and influence of Laud, those observances which led to such opposition on the part of the Puritans and Parliamentarians, and in the end to results so calamitous to the church. Fuller did not take an active part in the proceedings of the convocation, and disliked the measures adopted. The discussions of which he was a witness,

and the violent proceedings that were taking place whilst he attended London on this occasion, no doubt drew his attention strongly towards public affairs: and when a year later more determined measures had been adopted by the king on the one hand, and by the parliament on the other, he appears to have thought himself called to be present at the scene of strife,—not to increase that strife, however, but to join with those who yet hoped that the terrible evils of a social war might be averted. He had lost, too, his wife, whom he had married in 1640, and who died, after giving birth to a son, in the following year; and perhaps he looked to the excitement of more active life for relief from his domestic sorrow.

Be the circumstances that led him to take this step what they may, certain it is that he removed to London in 1641. He did not, however, at first hold a cure, but “supplied” in any of the pulpits that were offered to him. He speedily became one of the most popular preachers in the metropolis, crowds resorting to any church where he was to minister. His fame had doubtless gone before him, and helped to quicken the admiration his talents would of themselves have excited. Before he left Broad-Windsor he had published a volume of sermons, of a remarkable character, and to which we may presently take occasion to refer; and also his history of the Crusades, the most original, and long the most popular, of his writings. It was in this work that he first gave free scope to his singular genius. Though nothing could well promise to be less *amusing* than a ‘History of the Holy War,’ it turned out to be the most amusing book of the time. Abounding, however, as it does, in quaintnesses, strange jests, droll stories, and odd digressions, the main subject is never lost sight of, but carried forward in a steady course. One of his admiring friends vowed, in some complimentary verses prefixed according to the custom of that day, that henceforth might

“Tasso, be silent; my friend speaks: his story
Hath robbed thy poem of its long-lived glory.
So rich his vein, his lines of so high state,
Thou canst not feign so well as he relate!”

And really the relations are so well handled that one might almost think the hyperbole reasonable—at least in a friend. Charles Lamb, than whom few men were ever better fitted to enjoy his singularities as well as his excellences, and who was, almost of necessity, a hearty admirer of him, says, “Above all, his way of telling a story, for its eager liveliness and the perpetual running commentary of the narrator happily blended with the narration, is perhaps unequalled.” We will give as a sample of his mode of narration, in its good and bad qualities, his account of a sea-fight between the Genoese and Venetians in 1260. The Venetians had burnt five-and-twenty of the Genoese ships which they found in the haven at Ptolemais. “To avenge this loss the state of Genoa sent from home a navy of fifty ships of all sorts, which came to Tyre. There met they Reinerius Zenus, Duke of Venice, with the united power of the Venetians and Pisans, counting no fewer than seventy-four vessels, well provided. They would have fought in the very haven of Tyre, but the governor of the city forbade it: it would be more scandalous to Christianity; the roving fireballs might hurt the city, and sinking ships hinder the harbour; besides, the conquered party would probably complain of the partiality of the place, that it more favoured one side: they should not fight under his nose: if they had a mind to it, let them out and try their fortunes in the open sea. Accordingly it was performed: out they go and fall to their work. Their galleys, like ostriches, used their legs more than their wings, more running with oars than flying with sails. At this time, before ordnance was found out, ships were both guns and bullets themselves, and furiously ran one against another. They began with this arietation: herein strength was much, but not all; nimbleness was also very advantageous to break and slent the downright rushings of a stronger vessel. Then fell they to grappling: here the steady ship had the better of it; and those soldiers who best kept their legs could best use their arms, the surest stander being always the soundest striker. Much valour was showed on both sides, and at last the victory fell to the Venetians. The Genoans

losing five-and-twenty of their ships, fled, and saved the rest in the haven of Tyre, after a most cruel and desperate battle. And surely sea-fights are more bloody than those on the land, especially since guns came up, whose shot betwixt wind and water (like those wounds so often mentioned in the Scripture under the fifth rib) is commonly observed mortal. Yea, full harder it is for a ship, when arrested and engaged in battle, to clear itself, than for soldiers by land to save themselves by flight. Here neither his own two, nor his horse's four legs can bestead any; but like accidents they must perish with their subjects, and sink with their ship."* The above, apart from its odd allusions and strange garnishings, exhibits no mean powers of narration.

Equally good in their way are his digressions. Take one from the midst of his description of the siege of Jerusalem.† "As for the want of ladders, that was quickly supplied: for the Genoans arriving with a fleet in Palestine brought most curious engineers, who framed a wooden tower, and all other artificial instruments. For we must not think that the world was at a loss for war tools before the brood of guns was hatched: it had the battering-ram, first found out by Epeus at the taking of Troy; the balista, to discharge great stones, invented by the Phœnicians; the catapulta, being a sling of mighty strength, whereof the Syrians were authors, and perchance king Uzziah‡ first made it; for we find him very dexterous and happy in devising such things. And although these bear-whelps were but rude and unshapen at the first, yet art did lick them afterwards, and they got more teeth and sharper nails by degrees; so that every age set them forth in a new edition, corrected and amended. But these and many more voluminous engines (for the ram alone had an hundred men to manage it) are now virtually epitomized in the cannon. And though some may say that the finding of guns hath been the losing of many men's lives, yet it will appear that battles now are fought with more expedition, and victory standeth not so long a

* Holy War, p. 210, ed. 1647. † Ib. 39. ‡ 2 Chron. vi. 15.

neuter, before she express herself on one side or other. But these guns have shot my discourse from the siege of Jerusalem: to return thither again." Then again the way in which he brings in anecdotes, which his large memory has ever ready, on all occasions to illustrate or enliven his text, is very amusing. In winding up his history of the Crusades, he says that the King of Spain is the nominal King of Jerusalem, though "at this day the Turk hath eleven points of the law in Jerusalem, I mean possession;" but whether the Spaniard shall ever recover it we "will leave to the censure of others; and meantime conclude more serious matters with this pleasant passage:—When the late wars in the days of Queen Elizabeth were hot between England and Spain, there were commissioners on both sides appointed to treat of peace: they met in a town of the French king's: and first it was debated what tongue the negotiation should be handled in. A Spaniard, thinking to give the English commissioners a shrewd gird, proposed the French tongue as most fit, it being a language which the Spaniards were well skilled in; and for these gentlemen of England, I suppose (said he) that they cannot be ignorant of the language of their fellow-subjects; their queen is Queen of France as well as England. Nay, in faith, masters (replied Doctor Dale, the Master of Requests), the French tongue is too vulgar for a business of this secrecy and importance, especially in a French town: we will rather treat in Hebrew, the language of Jerusalem, whereof your master is king; I suppose you are herein as well skilled as we in French."*

Excited as was the state of public feeling at the time he came to London, such a man could not fail to find admirers, especially in an age when the pulpit exercised so wide and general an influence. Fuller never abused his position to party ends—never employed it for personal or sectarian purposes. Believing the duty of a preacher to be the promotion of peace and goodwill, and the guidance to purity of life, he sought to calm the angry feelings, and to improve the hearts of his hearers. And crowds flocked to listen to him. Attracted by his

* Holy War, p. 281.

ability and popularity, the master and brotherhood of the Savoy chose him to be their lecturer; "which office," says the author of his life (Oxon, 1662), "he did most piously and effectually discharge, witness the great confluence of affected hearers from distant congregations, insomuch that his own cure were (in a sense) excommunicated from the church, unless their timeous diligence kept pace with their devotion, the doctor affording them no more time for their extraordinaries on the Lord's day than what he allowed his habitual abstinence on all the rest. He had in his narrow chapel two audiences, one without the pale, the other within; the windows of that little church, and the sextonry so crowded, as if bees had swarmed to his mellifluous discourse."

This extraordinary popularity is not at all surprising. Amidst the harsh and arid wastes that were about him, his discourses would be as welcome oases: amidst the struggles and conflicts of party strife to which the pulpit was then made but too often to minister, his pacific exhortations would attract all who yet longed to see the unnatural contest brought to a bloodless termination. And there were other recommendations. Not avoiding the discussion of doctrines when they came fairly in his way, his sermons were not, like nearly all of his time, doctrinal; and in his ethics there was much of the unflinching boldness and plain-speaking of those of Bishop Latimer—"downright Latimer," as Fuller in one of his expressive epithets calls him. Of his somewhat too free way of handling morals, and of the exuberance of wit he could—though it was not always he did—pour over a subject even from the pulpit, we have an example in a sermon against Gluttony (published along with several others the year before removing to London, in a volume entitled '*Joseph's Parti-coloured Coat*'), and an extract or two from which may be acceptable. The sermon is entitled '*A Glass for Gluttons*,' and commencing by setting forth the greatness of the sin of gluttony, goes on to point out its danger. "And it is the more dangerous," he tells us, "because it is so hard and difficult to discern;"—like to the hectic fever, it steals on a man unawares. "Some sins come with observation, and are either

ushered with a noise, or, like a snail, leave a slime behind them, whereby they may be traced and tracked, as drunkenness. The Ephraimites were differenced from the rest of the Israelites by their lisping; they could not pronounce *h*. Thus drunkards are distinguished from the king's sober subjects by clipping the coin of the tongue; but there are not such signs and symptoms of gluttony." Further, it is dangerous because of its injury to the mind. "That soul must needs be unfitting to serve God so encumbered. That man hath but an uncomfortable life who is confined to live in a smoky house. The brain is one of these places of the residence of the soul, and when that is filled with steams and vapours arising from unconcocted crudities in the stomach, the soul must needs, *malè habitare*, dwell uncheerfully, ill accommodated in so smoky a mansion; and as hereby it is unapt for the performance of good, so it is ready for most evil, for uncleanness, scurrility, ill-speaking. Secondly, this sin impairs the health of the body: the outlandish proverb saith, that the glutton digs his grave with his own teeth. Must there not be a battle and insurrection in *his* stomach wherein there is meat hot, cold, sod, roast, flesh, fish? and which side soever wins, nature and health will be overcome, when as a man's body is like unto the ark of Noah, containing all beasts, clean and unclean: but he the most unclean beast that contains them. Our law interprets it to be murder when one is killed with a knife. Let us take heed we be not all condemned for being *felos de se*; for wilfully murdering our own lives with our knives, by our superfluous eating. . . . Lastly, it wrongeth the poor; for it is the overmuch feasting of Dives which of necessity maketh the fasting of Lazarus: and might not the superfluous meat of the rich be sold for many a pound, and given to the poor?" He dwells strongly on the necessity of moderation in diet, but admits that no rule can be laid down to suit all; for "that quantity of rain will make a clay ground drunk which will scarce quench the thirst of a sandy country." There is along with this homely and plain-spoken manner of denouncing ill practices an abundance of more

directly theological instruction, and it is evident from ever so slight a perusal of these or of his later sermons, that he was a man of real piety.

It must not be supposed that his sermons were generally so overlaid with wit. Even in the collection from which we have quoted there are some sufficiently free from it; and as the times became more serious his sermons became more unmistakeably in earnest, though even in the gravest of them, as in the most serious of his later productions, it must be confessed there are symptoms of at least a hankering after the humorous. Still they were distinguished by his gentleness and kindness of temper. They stand, indeed, almost alone among those of that day for their anxious avoidance of all intolerance of spirit. As his biographer tells us, "he was wholly conversant during the broils and dissensions of the clergy, in the thought and considerations of that text: Let your moderation be known unto all men." It was his opinion, as he wrote at the time, that "Our English pulpits, for these last eighteen years, have had in them too much caninal anger vented by snapping and snarling spirits on both sides;" and then he pointed in a prophetic spirit to the text, "But if ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another." Among his other efforts he delivered a sermon on the fast-day appointed by the Parliament, December 28, 1642, and afterwards published it, earnestly exhorting to mutual concessions and forgiveness. *Blessed are the peace-makers*, was his text; and the sentiment is enforced in a strain of beautiful and earnest eloquence. But it was another kind of sermonizing that was then most attended to. As the violence of party spirit increased, and the domination of the Presbyterians became daily more evident, the position of Fuller as a clergyman of the Church of England became exceedingly perplexing. So long, however, as he felt that he could remain in the discharge of his duty, without prejudice to his convictions, he did not desert his post. As soon as a measure was enforced to which he could not in conscience accede, and he could not remain with honour, he

left it. That most unscrupulous personage, Lilly the astrologer, has fallen foul of Fuller in a very passionate manner, incited thereto apparently by his disrespectful treatment of Paracelsus, whom he had called a Quack-salver; and endeavours to fasten upon him a charge of apostacy. "And that Mr. Fuller may know he hath wantonly abused his oratory, I let the ages to come know this much of himself, viz.:—That he took the Covenant twice for the Parliament, before my face in the Savoy Church; invited others to it; yet, apostate-like, ran within a few days to Oxford, and there whined to his companions, and protested the Countess of R. made him take it. 'Let not thy jests, like mummy, be made of dead men's flesh. Abuse not any that are departed; for to wrong their memories is to rob their ghosts of their winding-sheets,' says Thomas Fuller in his 'Holy State,' page 156. And yet this man must call Paracelsus a Quacksalver, and give him besides other Billingsgate language: Doctor Charlton (in his Mag. 'Cure of Wounds,' page 30) styles Paracelsus the Ornament of Germany, &c. Let the world and writings of the man judge of Mr. Fuller's scurvy language."*

That he did not take the Covenant, however, Fuller states expressly, and at the same time satisfactorily explains what was his conduct at this trying period. After giving the Covenant at length in his 'Church History' (Book xi. cent. 17), commenting upon it, and noticing the rigorous enforcement of it, he adds, "Nor have I aught else to observe thereof save in my own defence, that I never saw the same, except at distance as hung up in churches; nor ever had any occasion to read, or hear it read, till this day, July 1st, 1654, in writing my history; whatever hath been reported and printed to the contrary, of my taking thereof in London, who went away from the Savoy to the King's quarters, long before any mention thereof in England. True it is there was an oath, which never exceeded the line of communication, meeting with so much opposition that it expired in

* 'True Hist. of James I. and Charles I.,' pref. page 4.

the infancy thereof, about the time when the plot was discovered for which Mr. Tomkins and Mr. Chaloner suffered. This was tendered to me, and taken by me in the vestry of the Savoy Church, but first protesting some limitations thereof to myself. This not satisfying, was complained of, by some persons present, to the Parliament; where it was ordered, that the next Lord's-day I should take the same oath in *terminis terminantibus*, in the face of the church; which not agreeing with my conscience, I withdrew myself into the King's parts, which (I hope) I may no less safely than I do freely confess, because punished for the same with the loss of my livelihood, and since (I suppose) pardoned in the Act of Oblivion."

Fuller withdrew himself to the King at Oxford, in 1643, probably shortly after he had published another exhortation to peace, which he had delivered upon a public fast-day, July 27. His moderation was as little acceptable to the Royalists in Oxford as to their opponents in London; and though he was called to preach before the King once at least, he found the opinions prevalent in Oxford so little to his liking that he left that city some three or four months after he had entered it—accompanying Sir Ralph Hopton to the King's army as his chaplain. At this time he had full experience of the impossibility, as he afterwards expressed it, of a man in distracted times pleasing all parties. He pleased no party. At Oxford he was called a Puritan, while in London he was looked upon as a Papist; and upon his withdrawal to Oxford had his library and whatever property he possessed seized. The loss of his books was to him a serious misfortune, and one to which he frequently refers in his subsequent writings; it appears indeed that he did recover some portion, but the books had been "so tortured and mangled that what was taken and what left was neither useful to himself nor others." His library was no doubt, from the manner in which he speaks of it, a good one, and his collection was for use, not ostentation; he was not one of those who, as he says, "try to persuade the world they have much learning by

getting a great library." It is gratifying to know that the loss was in some measure made up to him by a friend, Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, who "bestowed on *him* (the treasure of a lord treasurer) what remained of his father's library." Fuller, in acknowledging this gift, in the dedication of a book of his Church History to the Earl, adds—"However, hereafter I shall behold myself under no other notion than as your lordship's library-keeper, and conceive it my duty not only to see your books dried and rubbed, to rout those moths which would quarter therein, but also to peruse, study, and digest them, so that I may present your honour with some choice collections for the same, as this ensuing history is for the main extracted thence, on which account I humbly request your acceptance thereof."

Wherever he was, and by whatever circumstances surrounded, the diligence of Fuller was unremitting. Never neglecting his official duties, he yet always found time for the pursuance of labours that were extra-official,—for historical investigation and literary composition. At Cambridge, as we have seen, he indulged in poetry. At Broad-Windsor he wrote his history of the 'Holy War;' besides accumulating materials for his singular 'Pisgah-sight of Palestine.' Among the distractions of his London life he composed and published his 'Holy and Profane State,' a work full of noble and striking thoughts, clothed in beautiful language. At Oxford he wrote a defence of the doctrines in his 'Sermon of Reformation,' which had been attacked by a fanatic of the name of Saltmarsh. And now, while wandering about the country with the king's army, he was everywhere collecting matter for his 'Worthies of England;' and, although preaching regularly, still made, if he did not find, leisure for writing his 'Good Thoughts in Bad Times,' and also 'Good Thoughts in Worse Times,' which were respectively published in 1645 and 1647. And this constant mental activity did not go unrewarded. More than any thing else perhaps—besides the approval of his own conscience—did it tend to what appears so remarkable in studying his works—that unmurmuring

acquiescence in the decrees of Providence, even when they were the most averse to his own earnest hopes and most cherished desires,—a feature in his character not enough noticed by his biographers, but which is very strikingly apparent when his works are read with a recollection of the times and the circumstances in which they were severally written. And that there is no assumed resignation here, every reader of them will feel assured ; for never was the character of an author more impressed on his writings than that of Fuller on his. That they are perfectly natural, it is as impossible to doubt, as it is to doubt their perfect honesty.

He was at Basing House during one of its sieges ; and after wandering some time with the army, in 1644 he took up his residence at Exeter, where he remained until it surrendered to Fairfax in 1646. While at Exeter he received the complimentary appointment of tutor to the Princess Henrietta, the daughter of Charles I. lately born in that city, whither the queen had sought refuge. From Exeter Fuller went to London, but was not very favourably received at his old quarters in the Savoy. He accordingly retired, “ weak in health and dejected in spirits,” to the residence of the Countess of Rutland at Boughton, near Northampton. And here, instead of giving himself up to the despondence which had seized upon him, he set about its analysis and remedy. The result we have in his ‘ Cause and Cure of a Wounded Conscience,’ a work which he dedicated to the ‘ Honourable and Virtuous ’ lady in whose house he had written it.

“ Good heart in evils doth the evils much amend,”

sings our “ sage and serious Spenser ; ” and Fuller proved the reality of the maxim. At the end of a few months we find him again in London, and again busily employed in preaching wherever his services were allowed. In the churchwardens’ books belonging to the parish of St. Clement’s, Eastcheap, there is this entry early in 1647 : —“ Paid for 4 Sermons preached by Mr. Fuller, 001. 06. 08,” a rate of payment which appears to have

been usual in that day for the occasional services of the more eminent preachers. He is said to have lectured at St. Clement's on Wednesday afternoons, and at St. Bride's, Fleet-street, on the Friday afternoons.* In the next year we have it stated by himself, in the dedication of a sermon on Assurance, that he was "by the present authority (to whose commands I humbly submit) forbidden, until further order, the exercise of public preaching; wherefore," he adds, "I am fain to employ my fingers in writing, to make the best signs I can!" Some while afterwards, however, he again preached, though not in the city. Under the protection of Sir John Danvers, he officiated several times in Chelsea church; and on the execution of Charles I. signalized his attachment to that unfortunate monarch by delivering a discourse at Chelsea, entitled 'The Just Man's Funeral;' and which, though covertly, was a funeral sermon for the king. This was a somewhat hazardous step; but Fuller, though he never courted danger, never shrunk from what he considered his duty for fear of it.

In 1648 the Earl of Carlisle obtained for him the perpetual curacy of Waltham. Here Fuller was left undisturbed, at least after having undergone the customary ordeal of the "Triers." Being a little apprehensive of the effects of their examination, he applied, according to Calamy, to John Howe, the celebrated Independent divine, to "give him a shove, being a little corpulent." Howe gave him prudent advice, and he escaped with only a fright. At Waltham he enjoyed the society of many learned men whose friendship he had acquired, and he turned to good account the facilities his situation afforded him for the prosecution of his favourite studies. He now finished, and, in 1650, published his 'Pisgah-sight of Palestine and the confines thereof, with the History of the Old and New Testaments acted thereon,' which he had commenced at Broad-Windsor. The purpose of this work is sufficiently described in the title: but quaint as that is, no one could have expected the lavish display of every kind of wit and drollery which is

* Oldys, in *Biog.*; *Brit. and Russell's Memorials*, p. 103.

to be found in the book itself. His fancy fertilized the very rocks and deserts ; the darkest and dreariest places he illumines and renders cheerful with his never-failing humour. And withal, there is, for the time, a very fair display of learning ; and what is better, a masculine boldness and breadth of treatment.

He next appeared as a contributor to a series of religious biographies, which appeared in 1651 under the title of ' Abel Redivivus ;' and independently as the author of some sermons, also of a work on Baptism, and a Register of the proceedings in the Parliament of the fourth and fifth years of the reign of Charles I. And now finding himself sufficiently at leisure, he wooed and won the sister of Viscount Baltinglass to become his second wife. The marriage was solemnized in 1654 ; and the next year was born a son, Thomas, of whom nothing more is known than that he survived his father.

During all this time our industrious author had been busily engaged on his ' Church History of Britain,' which he gave to the world in 1655. This was the greatest work he had yet published, and upon this and his ' Worthies of Britain' his fame is mainly built. Appended to his Church History were Histories of Cambridge University and of Waltham Abbey. The History of the Church of England he brought down from the period of its foundation to the year 1648, and with the ecclesiastical narrative interwove not a little of the secular narrative of his country. He divides the history into books, and these into centuries, and these again into short chapters, to each of which he affixes a quaint but often expressive heading ; a fashion that has been re-introduced in some grave works in our own day. Take two or three of Fuller's :—' Politic Patience ;' ' Highly Conscientious ;' ' Spoken like a King ;' ' Say and do best ;' ' A Charitable Parenthesis ;' ' Bonner beginneth to Bonner it ;' ' The Stump of an Old Tree.'

The value of Fuller's history is now undoubtedly small, if it be regarded as an exact account of the subject of which it treats. But there is much preserved in it which Fuller had acquired with great diligence, and which is

valuable to the historical student; while as the work of such a man, writing upon a subject thoroughly familiar to him, and in which he let his peculiar genius have full scope, it is of no ordinary interest. The dignity of the subject, the gravity of the characters, or the controversial nature of much of the matter never for a moment deadens the gleesome spirit of the author. The whole is redolent with hilarity, and yet the reader never feels that there is any improper or undevout feeling evinced by the writer. Certainly such a manner is here out of place; but as he says, in pleading for a kindly construction to be put upon the words and actions of a man of mirthful temperament:—"Some men are of a very cheerful disposition, and God forbid that all such should be condemned for lightness. O let not any envious eye disinherit men of that which is their 'portion in this life comfortably to enjoy the blessings thereof!' . . . Harmless mirth is the best cordial against the consumption of the spirit; wherefore, jesting is not unlawful, if it trespasseth not in quantity, quality, or season." Some of his jests, however, would hardly escape on the plea of season: and as to quality, he was tolerably indifferent about that; he gave them of all kinds—good, bad, and indifferent, and in quantity without stint. Still it is a rare censure to pass on a history, and especially a church history, that it is not dull enough; and as a unique specimen it ought perhaps to be rather made much of than condemned.

The publication of this work drew him into a controversy with Dr. Peter Heylin, a high church divine of considerable celebrity in his day, who put forth some animadversions upon it in a volume entitled 'Examen Historicum.' Heylin, a dull, ill-tempered man, attacks Fuller in a strain of extreme bitterness, but not without skill, charging him with committing errors, favouring the followers of Wiclif and Calvin, with Puritanism, and especially with freedom of speech, which was by no means an ordinary Puritanic failing. Fuller replied in the 'Appeal of Injured Innocence;' a work that is admirable in many respects, but in none more than the very different temper he displays from his animadvertor.

The reply was considered very satisfactory. He admits that he had made some mistakes, which he thanks his animadvertor for pointing out to him, and promises to rectify; but he declares that he in no case wilfully perverted or concealed anything; and so large a work, written at such a time, could scarcely be expected to be free from errors. But, as he says, "As it is impossible in distracted times to please all, so it is easy for any at any time to cavil at the best performance. A pigmy is giant enough for this purpose." His answer had the unusual fortune of satisfying his opponent, and he and Dr. Heylin became good friends afterwards. That he took all possible pains to collect his materials, and consulted the best living authorities, is evident from what he says in his reply to Heylin; the way in which he sums up his vindication on this head, after he has enumerated the sources from which he drew his matter, is characteristic:—"Give me leave to add, that a greater volume of general church history might be made with less time, pains, and cost; for in the making thereof I had straw provided me to burn my brick; I mean, could find what I needed in printed books; whereas in this '*British Church History*' I must (as well as I could) provide my own straw, and my pains have been scattered all over the land, by riding, writing, going, sending, chiding, begging, praying, and sometimes paying too, to procure manuscript materials."

Fuller still continued his active industry; he lived but three years after the publication of his history, yet during that time he published several occasional sermons; '*Mixt Contemplations*;' '*Ornithologie, or the Speech of Birds, also the Speech of Flowers*;' and a poetical '*Panegyric to his Majesty on his happy Return*;' besides completing his '*Worthies*' and superintending the earlier sheets through the press. Shortly before the Restoration, he was called upon to resume his old station at the Savoy, and after the king's return was made one of the royal chaplains, and by royal mandate created D.D. In that unfailing storehouse of the London-life gossip of this period, the '*Diary of Samuel Pepys*,' there is a notice of

Fuller's preaching, on which Pepys passes one of his usual odd judgments. "May 12 (1661). At the Savoy, heard Dr. Fuller preach upon David's words, 'I will wait with patience all the days of my appointed time, until my change comes;' but methought it was a poor dry sermon. And I am afraid my former high esteem of his preaching was more out of opinion than of judgment." Fuller a poor dry preacher! This is as good as Pepys's criticisms on Shakspeare and Butler. Samuel has some other entries in his journal about our author worth quoting. "Jan. 22 (1660-1). I met with Dr. Fuller; he tells me of his last and great book that is coming out: that is, the 'History of all the Families in England;' and could tell me more of my own than I knew myself. And also to what perfection he had brought the art of memory; that he did lately, to four eminently great scholars, dictate together in Latin, upon different subjects of their proposing, faster than they were able to write, till they were tired." The Doctor did not, however, insert any account of Pepys' family, as we find by a subsequent entry. "Feb. 5 (1661-2). To Paul's churchyard, and there I met with Dr. Fuller's 'English Worthies,' the first time that ever I saw it; and so sat down reading in it; being much troubled that (though he had some discourse with me about my family and arms) he says nothing at all nor mentions us, either in Cambridgeshire or Norfolkshire. But I believe, indeed, our family were never very considerable." Notwithstanding this slight, the good man bought the book some ten months afterwards. "Dec. 10 (1663). To St. Paul's churchyard, to my bookseller's, and could not tell whether to lay out my money for books of pleasure, as plays, which my nature was most earnest in; but at last, after seeing Chaucer, Dugdale's 'History of St. Paul's,' Stow's 'London,' Gesner's 'History of Trent,' besides Shakspeare, Jonson, and Beaumont's Plays, I at last chose Dr. Fuller's 'Worthies,' the 'Cabala' or 'Collection of Letters of State,' and a little book, 'Délices de Hollande,' with another little book or two, all of good use or serious pleasure; and 'Hudibras,' both parts, the

book now in greatest fashion for drollery, though I cannot, I confess, see enough where the wit lies. My mind being thus settled, I went by link home, and so to my office, and to read in Rushworth; and so home to supper and to bed."

Allusion is made in one of the above extracts to Fuller's memory, of which many marvellous anecdotes are told. His Oxford biographer says "he undertook once in passing to and from Temple Bar to the farthest conduit in Cheapside, to tell at his return every sign as they stood in order on both sides of the way, repeating them either backward or forward, as they should choose, which he exactly did, not missing or misplacing one, to the admiration of those that heard him." A feat of no small magnitude, seeing that every house then bore a sign; but we suppose this may be taken with a little abatement. As also that he could repeat five hundred strange words at twice, and a sermon at once, hearing without letting slip a word. He says himself, "None alive ever heard me pretend to the *art* of memory, who, in my book (Holy State) have decried it as a trick, no art; and, indeed, is more of fancy than memory. I confess, some ten years since, when I came out of the pulpit of St. Dunstan's East, one (who since wrote a book thereof) told me in the vestry, before credible people, that he in Sidney College had taught me the art of memory; I returned unto him that it was not so, *for I could not remember that I had ever seen him before!* which, I conceive, was a real refutation." We should think so too; about one of the most unquestionable on record. We may guess from what he has written on memory that he was drilled into the art of it by—

'Great Nature's sergeant—that is, Order'

(as Spenser tells us). If you desire to remember well, he says, "Marshall thy notions into a handsome method. One will carry twice more weight trust and packt up in bundles, than when it lies untowardly flapping and hanging about his shoulders." Again, there must be frequent revision of what is acquired, but "first, soundly

infix in thy mind what thou desirest to remember. 'T is best knocking in the nail overnight, and clinching it in the morning." Almost as good a story about his memory as that we have quoted from himself, is the one told of his reply to the "Triers" when undergoing their questionings. These worthies having heard a good deal about his powers of remembrance, desired him, it is said, "to give them some proof of his extraordinary memory." Upon which he promised them, "if they would restore a certain poor sequestered minister, never to forget that kindness as long as he lived."

The Restoration opened brighter prospects before him. He was called upon to preach before the king, who is reported to have resolved upon his early preferment. But his preferment was not to be an earthly dignity. His living in Broad Windsor had now become his own again, but his biographer tells us, that when he went to visit it, he was so pleased with the preaching of the incumbent that he voluntarily promised not to be the cause of his removal. Soon after returning from Salisbury, whither he had gone on matters connected with his prebendal stall, to which he had also been restored, he was seized with a violent fever then extremely prevalent, and which was known as the "new disease." He had promised to preach at the Savoy a marriage-sermon on occasion of the wedding of a friend, and while dining previously complained of a dizziness in the head; but to the solicitations of his son, who entreated him to refrain from preaching, replied that "he had often gone up into the pulpit sick, but always come well down again, and he hoped he should do as well now." Finding his illness increase after he had gone into the pulpit, he mentioned it to his congregation, adding, "but I am resolved, by the grace of God, to preach this sermon to you here, though it be my last." He did preach it, and it was his last. For having with difficulty finished it, "he sat down, but was not able to rise again, but was fain to be led down the pulpit-stairs, by two men, into the reading desk." He was carried home to his lodgings in Covent Garden, where, on the Thursday following, August the 16th, he

died.* He was buried at the cost of his patron and admirer Lord Berkeley, in his parish-church of Cranford; and his funeral was attended by two hundred clergymen.

By the help of the minute account of his excellent old biographer (whose life was published a year after the Doctor's death), we can form a tolerably clear idea of him. He was a tall, portly, noticeable person, of a sanguine temperament, ruddy complexion, with clear piercing eyes, but withal of a composed and serious though pleasant expression of countenance. On his upper lip he wore a moustache after the old English fashion. His hair, which was of a light colour, and naturally given to curl, he wore of a moderate length, beseeeming his profession. In his gait he was upright and graceful. Of his dress he was somewhat negligent; in his manner he was simple, natural, and unassuming. His conversation was cheerful, and "much sought after; for besides the pleasantness of it, he was for information a perfect walking library." At his diet he was "very sparing and temperate, but yet he allowed himself the repasts and refreshments of two meals a-day; but no lover of dainties or the inventions of cookery: solid meats better fitting his strength of constitution, but from drink very much abstemious . . . but most abstemious from sleep" (which may account, perhaps, for the number of books he read and wrote; for, as South says, "they who are ablest at the bed and the barrel, are generally idlest at the book").

In all the duties of domestic and social life, his biographer represents him to have been most admirable. A tender and devoted husband and father—a faithful and affectionate relation and friend. Indeed, "from the meanest to the highest he omitted nothing that belonged to his state of life, either in a familiar correspondence, or

* Pepys has this entry in his Diary, Aug. 16, 1641. "It is such a sickly time, both in the city and country everywhere (of a sort of fever), that never was heard of almost, unless it was a plague-time. Among others the famous Tom Fuller is dead of it; and Dr. Nicholls, Dean of St. Paul's and my Lord General Monk is very dangerously ill."

necessary visits: never waiting for entreaties of that which either was his duty or in his power to perform. In a word, to his superiors he was dutifully respectful, without ceremony or officiousness; to his equals he was discreetly respectful, and to his inferiors (whom, indeed, he judged Christianly none to be), civilly respectful, without pride or disdain." An admirable character, and one, if any faith may be placed in the general spirit and tenor of his own writings, and in the uniform testimony of his contemporaries, well deserved.

The year after the death of Fuller, his 'Worthies of England' were edited and published by his eldest son John. This was a work which had long engaged the head and hands of our author, and one upon the successful completion of which he had greatly set his heart. It is, indeed, the best monument that could have been raised to his memory; and remains a wonderful example of his amazing industry, and of the surpassing variety and power of his intellectual faculties. It is in this work, perhaps, that his keenness of discrimination and robustness of intellect are most apparent. The sagacity with which he pierces through and decides on the various characters is admirable, and considering the large number that passes before him, it is surprising in how few instances he is far wrong in his verdict. Here, as in his 'Church History,' his freedom from prejudice, his sympathy with goodness wherever he discerns it, the honesty with which he endeavours to see what is good in all, and the heartiness with which he testifies to its presence when he does find it, are deserving of all honour, and stand in strong contrast with the ordinary practice of his contemporaries. This is especially noticeable in his accounts of the old monasteries and their inhabitants, of the Roman Catholic divines, and of the Puritans, although from all of them parted by strong feelings of repulsion.

That most ill-tempered and supercilious of prelates, Bishop Nicolson, takes occasion in his 'English Historical Library,' p. 6, to speak of the 'British Worthies' in the following charitable style:—"It was huddled up

in haste *for the procurement of some moderate profit for the author*, though he did not live to see it published. It corrects many mistakes in his Ecclesiastical History ; but makes more new ones in their stead." And again, "The lives of his greatest heroes are commonly misshapen scraps mixed with tattle and lies." The Bishop has given *the* reason for which the work was "huddled up," as a quotation, and see how honestly. Fuller, in the first page of his 'Worthies,' gives *five* reasons why he wrote the book, and of these the one the Bishop selected he has misstated. "Know, then," says our author, "I propound five ends to myself in this book : first, to gain some glory to God ; secondly, to preserve the memories of the dead ; thirdly, to present examples to the living ; fourthly, to entertain the reader with delight ; and lastly (which I am not ashamed publicly to profess), to procure some honest profit to myself. If not so happy to obtain all, I will be joyful to obtain some ; yea, contented and thankful, too, if gaining any (especially the first) of these ends, the motives of my endeavours." Surely with this before him, and the honesty of the writer stamped unmistakably on every page of the book, it was rather too uncharitable, and especially in a bishop, so to read and repeat the passage. As to its being "huddled up in haste," Fuller gives plenty of evidence of the long and studious diligence with which it had been prepared ; and his old biographer gives a pleasant account of the constant inquiries he for years had been making into every particular connected with this, his favourite work.

"When in progress with the King's army, his business and study then was a kind of errantry. . . . In what place soever he came, of remark especially, he spent most of his time in views and researches of their antiquities and church monuments ; insinuating himself into the acquaintance, which frequently ended in the lasting friendship, of the learnedest and gravest persons residing within the place, thereby to inform himself fully of those things he thought worthy the commendation of his labours . . . Nor did the good Doctor ever refuse to

light his candle, in investigating truth, from the meanest person's discovery. He would endure contentedly an hour or more impertinence from any aged church-officer, or other superannuated person, for the gleaning of two lines to his purpose. And though his spirit was quick and nimble, and all the faculties of his mind ready and answerable to that activity of despatch; yet, in these inquests, he would stay and attend those circular rambles till they came to a point; so resolute was he bent to the sifting out of abstruse antiquity. Nor did he ever dismiss such adjutators, or helpers, as he was pleased to style them, without giving them money and cheerful thanks besides."

As for the value of his Lives, we can only say that we have been for years in the constant habit of referring to them, and believe that a less-fitting description could not possibly have been framed, than the Bishop's "misshapen scraps mixed with tattle and lies," even by a man coarser and duller than Nicolson.

There is much wanting in the historical works of Fuller. He was deficient in the plastic power needful in a master of the historic art. When the whole was before him he could, indeed, mould it into a complete shape, but not of the highest order; his style falls far short of that. The continuous effort after the ludicrous, though in him more natural than in almost any other writer, has at length a somewhat wearisome effect. He is also in many respects a careless writer: in the spelling of proper names for instance, and the more serious matter of chronology. Of chronology, indeed, he was rather afraid, calling it a little surly animal apt to bite the fingers of those who ventured to handle it with undue familiarity. In reading his works one is tempted sometimes to fancy that he was not accustomed to revise them: so much is met with that would seem to have courted the knife. Then, amusing as they are, there are such heaps of stories, digressions, odd allusions, and quaint sayings scattered about everywhere, as to disfigure where they do not perplex his story. His histories must be a perfect purgatory to a methodic man.

We have often thought what a delight it would be to watch some staid dull student, who, having by chance heard of Fuller's 'Church History,' or 'History of the Holy War' as a *good book*, had purchased it, and sat down in an historic mood to study it. To watch him—the table cleared, lamp trimmed, note-book by his side, pens cut—plod deliberately through the first chapter, the second ——— !

But to one who can relish the free spirit of a genuine man Fuller is one of the most thoroughly enjoyable of writers. And if there is nowhere any great reach or profundity of thought—nowhere the stamp of the highest—there is everywhere sufficient proof of a very high order of intellect. Tainted as is his style and manner of expression by the characteristic quaintness of his age, he was almost wholly free from its characteristic intolerance. The seventeenth century, we need not say, was a most remarkable one : from the strongly excited feelings of the people in this country on many questions of highest concern, there was a clashing and general ferment in minds of every variety of temperament, with the results of which all are more or less familiar. The theological writers partook of this excitement, and there is a greater diversity of intellectual power displayed in their writings than in those of the English divines of any other age ; yet among them Fuller stands alone. He is the most original writer among them—perhaps the most original writer of his age. Wit is what is most striking in him ; it is not his only excellence by any means ; but it is that which colours everything he touches. As we have seen, he freely uses it in the pulpit, where now it would of course not be tolerated. South, some twenty years his junior, also has an abundance of wit in his sermons ; but there is this vast difference—while South uses his most plenteously in rendering ridiculous the sectaries whom he so dislikes, Fuller's is never directed against any person or body of men. Probably there could not be another writer named, with such a weapon at command, who used it so gently : in no page he ever wrote is there either irony or sarcasm. His lip never curls into a

sneer. Gentle as a child, though mirthfulness is the essence of his character, it is as harmless as a child's full-hearted glee. Abundant as is his wit, its richness is equally so, because it is fed from an imagination fertile, exuberant ; but the exercise of it is a never-failing source of surprise and pleasure.

To sum up all in a word, he was a true-hearted honest man ; sincere, charitable, generous ; as an author thoroughly original, possessed of a lively imagination, sound sense, much wisdom, and an everflowing, indeed, overflowing, cheerfulness. He wanted alone, perhaps, a severer mental discipline to have become a really great man, as he is now but a great one comparatively. His books have, in some measure, lost their use. They are valuable now to the student of our literature rather than to the general reader. But the contemplation of his character, as we read it in his life and works, is not without good for all of us. We may learn there that to keep our hearts open to all kindly feelings, to avoid forming harsh notions of men who may differ from us ever so widely, to cherish wide sympathies, and to seek after comprehensiveness of thought and clearness of vision—that this is the best way to attain truth and happiness ; and that in pursuing our own proper course, whatever that may be, with cheerful earnest sincerity, consists at once our strength and safety.



IF this great ornament of our church did not boast of an exalted lineage, he numbered among his forefathers one at least, the worthy ancestor of such a descendant, Dr. Rowland Taylor, chaplain to Cranmer, and rector of Hadleigh, distinguished among the divines of the Reformation for his abilities, learning, and piety, as well as for the courageous cheerfulness with which he suffered death at the stake in the reign of Queen Mary. Jeremy Taylor was the son of a barber, resident in Trinity parish, Cambridge; and was baptized in Trinity church August 15th, 1613. He was "grounded in grammar and mathematics" by his father, and entered as a sizar at Caius College August 18th, 1626. Of his deportment, his studies, even of the honours and emoluments of his academical life, we have no certain knowledge. It is stated by Dr. Rust, in his Funeral Sermon, that Taylor was elected fellow; but this is at least doubtful, for no record of the fact exists in the registers



of the college. He proceeded to the degree of M.A. in 1633; and in the same year, though at the early age of twenty, we find him in orders, and officiating as a divinity lecturer in St. Paul's Cathedral. His talents as a preacher attracted the notice of Archbishop Laud, who sent for him to preach at Lambeth, and approved of his performance, but thought him too young. Taylor begged his Grace's pardon for that fault, and promised that, if he lived, he would mend it. By that prelate's interest he was admitted to the degree of M.A. *ad eundem*, in University College, Oxford, October 20th, 1635, and shortly after nominated to a fellowship at All Souls College. It was probably through the interest of the same powerful patron that he obtained the rectory of Uppingham, in Rutlandshire, tenable with his fellowship, March 23rd, 1638. The fellowship, however, he vacated by his marriage with Phœbe Langsdale, May 27th, 1632, who died in little more than three years, leaving two sons.

Taylor attracted notice at Oxford by his talents as a preacher; but he does not seem to have commenced, during this period of ease and tranquillity, any of those great works which have rendered him illustrious as one of the most laborious, eloquent, and persuasive of British divines. The only sermon extant which we can distinctly refer to this period is one preached by command of the Vice-Chancellor on the anniversary of the Gunpowder plot, 1638. This piece requires notice, because it is connected with a report, circulated both during Taylor's residence at Oxford and afterwards, that he was secretly inclined to Popery. It is even said that he "wished to be confirmed a member of the church of Rome" (Wood, 'Athenæ Oxon.'), but was rejected with scorn in consequence of the things advanced against that church in this sermon. Of this whole statement Bishop Heber, in his 'Life of Taylor,' has expressed his disbelief; and the arguments on which his opinion is founded appear to us satisfactory. Not even during his peaceable abode at Uppingham do Taylor's great works appear to have been projected, as if his amiable, affec-

tionate, and zealous temper had been fully occupied by domestic cares and pleasures, and by the constant though quiet duties of a parish priest. The year 1642, as it witnessed the overthrow of his domestic happiness by his wife's death, saw also the beginning of those troubles which cast him out of his church preferment, a homeless man. We do not know the date of the sequestration of his living: but, as he joined Charles I. at Oxford in the autumn of the year; published in the same year, by the ~~the~~ King's command, his treatise 'Of the sacred Order and Offices of Episcopacy,' &c.; was created D.D. by royal mandate; appointed chaplain to the King, in which capacity he frequently preached at Oxford, and attended the royal army in the wars, it is probable that he was among the first of those who paid the penalty of adhering to the losing cause. Little is known of this portion of Taylor's history. It appears that he quitted the army, and retired into Wales, where he married, became again involved in the troubles of war, and was taken prisoner at Cardigan, February 4th, 1644. We do not know the date of his release, or of his marriage to his second wife, Joanna Bridges, a lady possessed of some landed property at Mandinam, near Golden Grove, in the vale of Towy, in Carmarthenshire, who was commonly said to be a natural daughter of Charles I., born before his marriage. But Heber conjectures that Taylor's marriage was anterior to his imprisonment, and that his wife's estate was amerced in a heavy fine, in consequence of his being found engaged in the Royal cause at Cardigan. It is at least certain that until the Restoration he was very poor, and that he supported himself during part of the time by keeping a school.

During this period of public confusion and domestic trouble, Taylor composed an 'Apology for authorized and set Forms of Liturgy,' published in 1646, and his great work, 'A Discourse on the liberty of Propheying,' published in 1647, "the first attempt on record to conciliate the minds of Christians to the reception of a doctrine which, though now the rule of action professed by all Christian sects, was then, by all sects alike, regarded

as a perilous and portentous novelty.”* As such, it was received with distrust, if not disapprobation, by all parties; and if it was intended to inculcate upon the Episcopalians the propriety of conceding something to the prejudices of their opponents, as well as to procure an alleviation of the oppression exercised on the Episcopal church, we may see in the conduct of the government after the Restoration, that Taylor preached a doctrine for which neither the one nor the other were then ripe. It is the more to his honour that in this important point of Christian charity he had advanced beyond his own party, as well as those by whom his party was then persecuted. But though his views were extended enough to meet with disapprobation from his contemporaries, he gives a greater latitude to the civil power in repressing error by penal means than the general practice, at least in Protestant countries, would now grant. “The forbearance which he claims, he claims for those Christians only who unite in the confession of the Apostles’ Creed,” and he advocates the drawing together of all who will subscribe to that ancient and comprehensive form of belief into one church, forgetting differences which do not involve the fundamental points of Christianity. And he inculcates the “danger and impropriety of driving men into schism by multiplying symbols and subscriptions, and contracting the bounds of communion, and the still greater wickedness of regarding all discrepant opinions as damnable in the life to come, and in the present capital.” For a fuller account of this remarkable work, we refer to the *Life* by Heber, p. 201-218, or, still better, to the original.

It was followed at no long interval by the ‘Great Exemplar of Sanctity and Holy Life, described in the Life and Death of Jesus Christ.’ This, the first of Taylor’s great works, which became extensively popular, is almost entirely practical in its tendency, having been composed, as the author tells us, with the intention of drawing men’s minds from controverted doctrines to the

* Heber’s ‘*Life of Taylor*,’ p. xxvii.

vital points on which all men are agreed, but which all men forget so easily. It is not an attempt to connect the relations of the four Evangelists into one complete and chronologically consistent account ; but a “series of devout meditations on the different events recorded in the New Testament, as well as on the more remarkable traditions which have usually been circulated respecting the Divine Author of our religion, his earthly parent, and his followers,” set off by that majestic style, that store of illustrations derived from the most recondite and miscellaneous learning, and, above all, that fervent and poetical imagination by which Taylor is distinguished, perhaps, above all the prose writers in our language. Such qualities, even without a digested plan and connected strain of argument, which, requiring a more continuous and attentive perusal, would not perhaps have made the book more acceptable or useful to the bulk of readers, ensured for it a favourable reception ; and the author followed up the impression which he had produced, at no distant period, by two other treatises of a similar practical tendency, which, from their comparative shortness, are better known than any other of Taylor’s works, and probably have been as extensively read as any devotional books in the English language. We speak of the treatises on Holy Living and on Holy Dying.

It has been mentioned that near Mandinam stood Golden Grove, the seat of the Earl of Carbery, a nobleman distinguished by his abilities and zeal in the Royal cause. He proved a constant and sincere friend to Taylor ; and the grateful scholar has conferred celebrity upon the name and hospitality of Golden Grove by his ‘Guide to Infant Devotion,’ or manual of daily prayers, which are called by the name of that place, in which they, and many other of the author’s works, were meditated : especially his *Eniautos*, or course of sermons for all the Sundays in the year.

Considerable obscurity hangs over this portion of Taylor’s life : but it appears that in the years 1654-5 he was twice imprisoned, in consequence of his advocacy

of the fallen causes of Episcopacy and Royalty. At some time in 1654 he formed an acquaintance with Evelyn, which proved profitable and honourable to both parties; for the layman, as is evident from his *Memoirs* and *Diary*, highly valued and laid to heart the counsels of the man whom he selected as his "ghostly father," and to whose poverty he liberally ministered in return out of his own abundance.

We learn from Evelyn's *Diary* that Taylor was in London in the spring of 1657, and his visits, if not annual, were at least frequent. He made many friends, and among them the Earl of Conway, a nobleman possessed of large estates in the north-east of Ireland, who conceived the desire of securing Taylor's eminent abilities for the service of his own neighbourhood, and obtained for him a lectureship in the small town of Lisburne. Taylor removed his family to Ireland in the summer of 1658. He dwelt near Portmore, his patron's splendid seat on the banks of Lough Neagh; and some of the islands in that noble lake, and in a smaller neighbouring piece of water called Lough Beg, are still recorded by the traditions of the peasantry to have been his favourite places of study and retirement. To this abode his letters show him to have been much attached.

In the spring of 1660, Taylor visited London to superintend in its passage through the press, the 'Rule of Conscience, or Ductor Dubitantium.' This, it appears from the author's letters, was considerably advanced so early as the year 1655. It was the fruit of much time, much diligence, and much prayer; and that of all his writings concerning the execution of which he seems to have felt most anxiety. In this case, as it often happens, the author seems to have formed an erroneous estimate of the comparative value of his work. Neither on its first appearance, nor in later times, did the 'Ductor Dubitantium' become extensively popular. Its object, which even at the first was accounted obsolete, was to supply what the Romish church obtained by the practice of confession, a set of rules by which a scru-

pulous conscience may be guided in the variety of doubtful points of duty which may occur. The abuses are well-known to which the casuistic subtlety of the Romish doctors gave birth; and it may be doubted whether it were wise to lay one stone towards rebuilding an edifice, which the general diffusion of the Scriptures, a sufficient rule, if rightly studied, to solve all doubts, had rendered unnecessary. The work, in spite of its passages of eloquence and profusion of learning, is too prolix to be a favourite in these latter days, but it is still, says his biographer (p. 293), one "which few can read without profit, and none, I think, without entertainment. It resembles in some degree those ancient inlaid cabinets (such as Evelyn, Boyle, or Wilkins might have bequeathed to their descendants) whose multifarious contents perplex our choice, and offer to the admiration or curiosity of a more accurate age a vast wilderness of trifles and varieties with no arrangement at all, or an arrangement on obsolete principles, but whose ebony drawers and perfumed recesses contain specimens of every thing that is precious or uncommon, and many things for which a modern museum might be searched in vain."

Taylor's accidental presence in London at this period, when the hopes of the Royalists were reviving, was probably serviceable to his future fortunes. He obtained by it the opportunity of joining in the Royalist declaration of April 24; and he was among the first to derive benefit from the restoration of that King and that Church, of whose interests he had ever been a most zealous, able, and consistent supporter. He was nominated Bishop of Down and Connor August 6, 1660, and consecrated in St. Patrick's Cathedral January 27, 1661. In the interval he was appointed Vice-chancellor of the University of Dublin, which during past troubles had been greatly dilapidated and disordered in respect both of its revenues and discipline. He was the principal instrument in remodelling and completing the statutes, and settling the University in its present form.

In the spring of 1661, Taylor was made a member of the Irish Privy Council, and the small diocese of Dro-

more, adjacent to Down, was assigned to his charge, "on account," in the words of the writ under the Privy Seal, "of his virtue, wisdom, and industry." This praise was well deserved by his conduct in that difficult time, when those who had displaced the episcopal clergy were apprehensive of being in their turn obliged to give way, and religious differences were embittered by thoughts of temporal welfare. Taylor had to deal chiefly with the wilder and most enthusiastic party, and his advances towards an intercourse of Christian charity were met with scorn and insult. But his exemplary conduct, and persevering gentleness of demeanour, did much to soften at least the laity of his opponents; for we are told that the nobility and gentry of the three dioceses over which he presided came over, with one exception, to the Bishop's side.

His varied duties can now have left little time for the labour of the pen; still he published sermons from time to time, and in 1664 completed and published his last great work, a 'Dissuasive from Popery,' undertaken by desire of the collective body of Irish bishops. He continued after his elevation to reside principally at Portmore, occasionally at Lisburne. Of his habits, and the incidents of this latter part of his life, we know next to nothing; except that he suffered the severest affliction which could befall a man of his sensibility and piety, in the successive deaths of his three surviving sons, and the misconduct of two of them. One died at Lisburne, in March, 1661; one fell in a duel, his adversary also dying of his wounds; the third became the favorite companion of the profligate Duke of Buckingham, and died of a decline, August 2, 1667. Of the latter event the Bishop can scarcely have heard, for he died on the 13th of the same month, after ten days' sickness. He was buried at Dromore. Two of his daughters married in Ireland, into the families of Marsh and Harrison; and several Irish families of repute claim to be connected with the blood of this exemplary prelate by the female line.

The materials for Bishop Taylor's life are very scanty.

The earliest sketch of it is to be found in the funeral sermon preached by his friend and successor in the see of Dromore, Dr. Rust, who sums up the virtues of the deceased in a peroration of highly wrought panegyric, of which the following just eulogy is a part:—"He was a person of great humility; and notwithstanding his stupendous parts and learning, and eminency of place, he had nothing in him of pride and humour, but was courteous and affable, and of easy access, and would lend a ready ear to the complaints, yea, to the impertinence, of the meanest persons. His humility was coupled with an extraordinary piety; and I believe he spent the greatest part of his time in heaven. . . . To all his other virtues he added a large and diffusive charity; and whoever compares his plentiful income with the inconsiderable estate he left at his death will be easily convinced that charity was steward for a great proportion of his revenue. But the hungry that he fed, and the naked that he clothed, and the distressed that he supplied, and the fatherless that he provided for, the poor children that he put to apprentice and brought up at school, and maintained at the university, will now sound a trumpet to that charity which he dispensed with his right hand, but would not suffer his left hand to have any knowledge of it.

"To sum up all in a few words, this great prelate had the good humour of a gentleman, the eloquence of an orator, the fancy of a poet, the acuteness of a schoolman, the profoundness of a philosopher, the wisdom of a counsellor, the sagacity of a prophet, the reason of an angel, and the piety of a saint; he had devotion enough for a cloister, learning enough for an university, and wit enough for a college of virtuosi; and had his parts and endowments been parcelled out among his poor clergy that he left behind him, it would, perhaps, have made one of the best dioceses in the world. But, alas! 'Our Father! our Father! the horses of our Israel, and the chariot thereof!' he is gone, and has carried his mantle and his spirit along with him up to heaven; and the sons of the prophets have lost all their beauty and lustre which

they enjoyed only from the reflection of his excellences, which were bright and radiant enough to a cast glory upon a whole order of men."

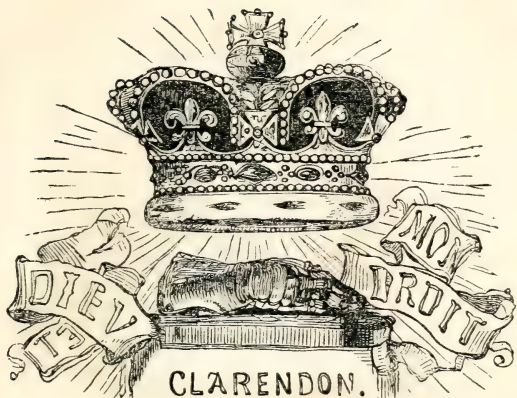
There is a *Life of Taylor* by Archdeacon Bonney; and a copious *Memoir*, enriched by a minute analysis of all the more remarkable compositions of our author, is prefixed to Bishop Heber's edition of Taylor's works. From this the materials of the present sketch are taken. Nor can we better conclude than with the eloquent estimate of Taylor's merits with which the accomplished biographer concludes his work. "It is on devotional and moral subjects that the peculiar character of Taylor's mind is most, and most successfully, developed. To this service he devotes his most glowing language; to this his aptest illustrations, his thoughts, and his words, at once burst into a flame, when touched by the coals of this altar; and whether he describes the duties, or dangers, or hopes of man, or the mercy, power, and justice of the Most High; whether he exhorts or instructs his brethren, or offers up his supplications in their behalf to the common Father of all, his conceptions and his expressions belong to the loftiest and most sacred description of poetry, of which they only want, what they cannot be said to need, the name and the metrical arrangement.

"It is this distinctive excellence, still more than the other qualifications of learning and logical acuteness, which has placed him, even in that age of gigantic talent, on an eminence superior to any of his immediate contemporaries; and has seated him, by the almost unanimous estimate of posterity, on the same lofty elevation with Hooker and with Barrow.

"Of such a triumvirate, who shall settle the precedence? Yet it may, perhaps, be not far from the truth, to observe that Hooker claims the foremost rank in sustained and classic dignity of style, in political and pragmatismal wisdom; that to Barrow the praise must be assigned of the closest and clearest views, and of a taste the most controlled and chastened; but that in imagination, in interest, in that which more properly and ex-

clusively deserves the name of genius, Taylor is to be placed before either. The first awes most, the second convinces most, the third persuades and delights most; and, according to the decision of one whose own rank among the ornaments of English literature yet remains to be determined by posterity (Dr. Parr), Hooker is the object of our reverence, Barrow of our admiration, and Jeremy Taylor of our love."





THE father of Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, was Henry Hyde, of Dinton, in Wiltshire, who was the third son of Lawrence Hyde, of Westhatch, younger son of Robert Hyde, of Norbury and Hyde, in the county of Chester. Clarendon's own account, in what is called his *Life*, is, that the estate of Norbury had been in the family, and had descended from father to son, from before the Conquest, and that that of Hyde had been long afterwards acquired by marriage; but it appears that Hyde was the original family estate, and that the other was acquired in the reign of Henry III., by the marriage of Sir Robert Hyde, knight, son of Matthew de Hyde, to Agnes de Herdislee, cousin and heiress of Thomas de Norbury. Robert Hyde, of Norbury and Hyde, the great-grandfather of Lord Clarendon, was the eighth in descent from this Sir Robert Hyde.*

* See note in *Lister's Life of Clarendon*, vol. i. p. 2.

Lawrence Hyde, who was a clerk in the office of the Auditor of the Exchequer, and had purchased the estate of Westhatch, left four sons and four daughters, who all, his descendant tells us, lived above forty years after the death of their father. Henry, the third son, had been educated at Oxford, and was a student of the Middle Temple when his father died; but being the favourite of his mother, who had been left very rich, and having no mind to the practice of the law, but a great inclination to travel beyond the seas, "which," says his son, "in that strict time of Elizabeth was not usual, except to merchants and such gentlemen who resolved to be soldiers," he prevailed on his mother to let him go to the Spa for his health, whence he made his way first to Florence and eventually to Rome, where, under the protection of Cardinal Allen, he remained without molestation for some months. On his return home, his mother purchased for him, for his life, from his elder brother, the estate or impropriate rectory of Dinton; and, having married Mary, one of the daughters and heirs of Edward Langford, of Trowbridge, with whom he obtained a good fortune, "from that time," says his son, "he lived a private life at Dinton aforesaid, with great cheerfulness and content, and with a general reputation throughout the whole country; being a person of great knowledge and reputation, and of so great esteem for integrity that most persons near him referred all matters of contention and difference which did arise amongst them to his determination; by which that part of the country lived in more peace and quietness than many of their neighbours. During the time of Queen Elizabeth he served as a burgess for some neighbour boroughs in many parliaments; but from the death of Queen Elizabeth he never was in London, though he lived above thirty years after; and his wife, who was married to him above forty years, never was in London in her life, the wisdom and frugality of that time being such that few gentlemen made journeys to London, or any other expensive journeys, but upon important business, and their wives never; by which providence they enjoyed and improved their

estates in the country, and kept good hospitality in their houses, brought up their children well, and were beloved by their neighbours. And in this rank and this reputation this gentleman lived till he was seventy years of age; his younger brother, the Chief Justice (Sir Nicholas Hyde, Chief Justice of the King's Bench), dying some years before him, and his two elder brothers outliving him. The great affection between the four brothers, and towards their sisters, of whom all enjoyed plenty and contentedness, was very notorious throughout the country, and of credit to them all."

Henry Hyde had a family of four sons and five daughters; but of the four sons only Edward, the third, survived their father. Edward was born at Dinton, which is about six miles from the city of Salisbury, on the 18th of February, 1609.

He was educated, he tells us, in his father's house, "under the care of a schoolmaster, to whom his father had given the vicarage of that parish, who, having been always a schoolmaster, had bred many good scholars;" but it was "principally," he adds, "by the care and conversation of his father, who was an excellent scholar, and took pleasure in conferring with him, and contributed much more to his education than the school did," that he was made fit, as was thought, to be sent to the University at the even then unusually early age of thirteen. His elder brother Henry was already at Oxford; and Edward was admitted at Magdalen Hall in 1622, in the expectation that he would be elected a demy (or scholar) of Magdalen College, it being designed that he should take orders, and, as was customary with younger sons, make his fortune in the church. He was not elected the first year, it being pretended that he had been too late in presenting himself, although he brought a special letter of recommendation from the king to the president of the college; but he was the next year, and his name placed at the head of the list for the first vacancy. It so happened, however, to quote his own relation, that "that whole year passed without any avoidance of a demy's place, which was never known before in any man's me-

mory; and that year King James died, and, shortly after, Henry, his elder brother; and thereupon his father, having now no other son, changed his former inclination, and resolved to send his son Edward to the Inns of Court." This account may remind the reader of the similar narrow escape from the clerical profession made by another distinguished Lord Chancellor, the late Earl of Eldon.

It appears, though he does not himself mention the circumstance, that Hyde had before this been an unsuccessful candidate for a Wiltshire Fellowship in Exeter College. He took his degree of B.A. on the 14th of February, 1626, and then left the University, "rather," he says, "with the opinion of a young man of parts and pregnancy of wit than that he had improved it much by industry; the discipline of that time being not so strict as it hath been since, and as it ought to be, and the custom of drinking being too much introduced and practised; his elder brother having been too much corrupted in that kind, and so having at his first coming given him some liberty, at least some example, towards that licence, inasmuch as he was often heard to say, that it was a very good fortune to him that his father so soon removed him from the University, though he always reserved a high esteem of it." So he made a double escape, from becoming both a clergyman and a drunkard.

Although he was entered of the Middle Temple, of which society his uncle was then treasurer, in the earlier part of the year 1625, he did not go up to London till the beginning of Michaelmas term, the town during the summer months having been infested by the plague. But on the evening of the day he arrived, having gone to prayers in the Temple Church, he was suddenly seized with a violent fit of ague, which forced him to go back to the country, and his studies were interrupted for a year. "When he returned," he tells us, "it was without great application to the study of the law for some years, it being then a time when the town was full of soldiers, the king having then a war both with Spain and France, and the business of the Isle of Rhé shortly followed; and he had gotten into the acquaintance of many of those officers,

which took up too much of his time for one year. But, as the war was quickly ended, so he had the good fortune quickly to make a full retreat from that company, and from any conversation with any of them, and without any hurt or prejudice; insomuch, as he used often to say, that, since it pleased God to preserve him whilst he did keep that company (in which he wonderfully escaped from being involved in many inconveniences), and to withdraw him so soon from it, he was not sorry that he had some experience in the conversation of such men, and of the licence of those times, which was very exorbitant. Yet, when he did indulge himself that liberty, it was without any signal debauchery, and not without some hours every day, at least every night, spent amongst his books. Yet he would not deny that, more than to be able to answer his uncle, who almost every night put a case to him in law, he could not bring himself to an industrious pursuit of the law study, but rather loved polite learning and history, in which, especially in the Roman, he had been always conversant."

He had only ridden the Norfolk circuit once (in 1628),* when he fell in love with a young lady whom he describes "as very fair and beautiful," and with his father's consent married her in 1629. But in six months after her marriage she was carried off by small-pox; a loss which so affected her husband that, as he tells us, "it shook all the frame of his resolutions, and nothing but his entire duty and reverence to his father kept him from giving over all thoughts of books, and transporting himself beyond the seas to enjoy his own melancholy." This marriage, however, brought consequences which influenced the course of his life. Mrs. Hyde, a daughter of Sir George Ayliffe, of Gretenham, in the county of Wilts, was through her mother Anne, daughter of Sir John St. John, of Lydiard Tregoze, Cornwall, nearly allied to many noble families. In particular, Barbara,

* Lord Campbell (*Lives of the Chancellors*, iii. 112) says, we do not know upon what authority, that his uncle the Chief Justice appointed him on this occasion to ride the circuit as his marshal

her mother's sister, was the wife of Sir Edward Villiers, half-brother of the royal favourite George first Duke of Buckingham ; Susan, sister of Sir Edward and the Duke, had married the first Earl of Denbigh ; and her daughter Mary was married to the Marquess (after Duke) of Hamilton. In this way the Marchioness of Hamilton and Mrs. Hyde were both cousins of a daughter of Sir Edward Villiers, who was seduced, under a promise of marriage, by Henry Jermyn (afterwards Lord Jermyn and Earl of St. Alban's). The injured lady's brother was Viscount Grandison (in the peerage of Ireland), a title which he had inherited from Oliver St. John, the first Viscount, who was uncle of his mother and of Mrs. Hyde. These memoranda will enable the reader of Clarendon's account of his own Life to understand a story which he has there told without giving the names ; and which even his late painstaking biographer, Mr. Lister, has not distinctly or completely explained. The lady's noble and powerful relations were all excited to fury by what had happened. Her brother, the young Viscount Grandison, was eager to fight her seducer. This is he whom Clarendon describes as a young man of extraordinary hope, between whom and himself there was an entire confidence ; and who was afterwards killed fighting on the royal side at the siege of Bristol, in 1643, on which occasion he describes him as one " than whom the court or camp could not show a more faultless person." He was the father of Barbara Villiers, better known as Countess of Castlemaine, and afterwards Duchess of Cleveland, the beautiful mistress of Charles II. The king, Charles I., to prevent the duel, committed both Jermyn and Grandison to the Tower ; and at the same time declared to the former that, if he would not make good his promise by marrying the lady, he should be for ever banished from all presence or relation to the court, " where," says Clarendon, " he had a very great credit and interest." He was, in fact, the favourite, or, as some called him, the lover of the Queen Henrietta Maria. " This declaration of the king," Clarendon continues, " made the nearest friends of the lady pursue the design

of this reparation more solicitously, in which they had all access to the king, who continued still in his declared judgment in the matter. In this pursuit Mr. Hyde's passionate affection to the family embarked him, and they were all as willing to be guided by his conduct; the business was to be followed by frequent instances at court, and conferences with those who had most power and opportunity to confirm the king in the sense he had entertained; and those conferences were wholly managed by him, who thereby had all admission to the persons of alliance to the lady, and so concerned in the dishonour, which was a great body of lords and ladies of principal relations in the court, with whom in a short time he was of great credit and esteem; of which the Marquess of Hamilton was one, who, having married an excellent lady, cousin-german to the injured person, seemed the most concerned and most zealous for her vindication, and who had at that time the most credit of any man about the court, and upon that occasion entered into a familiarity with him, and made as great professions of kindness to him as could pass to a person at that distance from him; which continued till the end and conclusion of that affair, when the marquess believed that Mr. Hyde had discovered some want of sincerity in him in that prosecution, which he pretended so much to assert." In continuation he remarks that this affair not only "introduced him into another way of conversation than he had formerly been accustomed to; and . . . in truth by the acquaintance, by the friends and enemies, he then made, had an influence upon the whole course of his life afterwards," but first gave occasion to the women at court, who till then had not appeared concerned in public affairs, beginning to have some part in all business. To the marriage, Clarendon adds, neither Jermyn himself, *nor they upon whom he most depended*—obviously meaning the queen—could be brought to consent; and at last the gentleman was suddenly "sent out of the kingdom, under the formality of a temporary and short banishment; and the lady commended to her friends, to be taken care of till her delivery." Mr. Lister has apparently over-

looked this statement when he notices Jermyn's banishment as a fact only to be inferred from certain passages in the letters Lord Strafford received while in Ireland, from his gossiping London correspondent Garrard.*

In 1632 Hyde took a second wife, Frances, second daughter of Sir Thomas Aylesbury, then Master of Requests and Master of the Mint; and from this time, he says, his determination to pursue his profession, about which he had hesitated till now, was fixed. On Michaelmas day, in the same year, he lost his father. Three years after this he was made known to Archbishop Laud, now the most powerful man in the kingdom, by Mr. Daniel Harvey, an eminent merchant, who being a very intelligent person, and having a country house a few miles from Croydon, used to be consulted by the Archbishop on matters of trade. Harvey mentioned the young templar to his grace as having shown great ability and courage as counsel for the merchants in their opposition to a certain regulation of the late Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Portland, whose reputation Laud wished to blacken. Upon this Hyde was sent for by the Archbishop, with whom he had several interviews, and "who ever afterwards," he says, "used him very kindly, and spoke well of him upon all occasions, and took particular notice of him when he came of counsel in any causes depending at the council-board, as he did frequently; . . . insomuch as it was so much taken notice of, that Mr. Hyde (who well knew how to cultivate those advantages) was used with more countenance by all the Judges in Westminster hall, and the eminent practisers, than was usually given to men of his years; so that he grew every day in practice, of which he had as much as he desired; and, having a competent estate of his own, he enjoyed a very pleasant and plentiful life, living much above the rank of those lawyers whose business was only to be rich; and was generally beloved and esteemed by most persons of condition and great reputation." Although he pursued his profession, he goes on to inform us, with great

* Life of Clarendon, i. 10, *note*.

diligence, he did not make himself a slave to it ; he neglected neither society nor the cultivation of polite learning ; he had always his friends about him at dinner—"very seldom," he says in another place, "using, when his practice was at highest, so much as to eat in the hall, without which no man ever got the reputation of a good student"—but, except when invited out by a friend, "he never supped for many years (before the troubles brought in that custom) both for the gaining that time for himself, and that he might rise early in the morning according to his custom, and which he would say he could never do when he supped." The hours which he gave to literature were commonly borrowed from the night. Except for two months in the summer, which he spent at his own house in the country, he never left London. While he had been only a student of the law, and "stood at gaze, irresolute what course of life to take," his principal associates, he states, were Ben Jonson, John Selden, Charles Cotton, John Vaughan, Sir Kenelm Digby, Thomas May, Thomas Carew, and other eminent poets and wits. But afterwards his most intimate friends were Sir Lucius Carey (afterwards Lord Falkland), Sir Francis Wenman, Sidney Godolphin, Edmund Waller, Dr. Gilbert Sheldon (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury), Dr. George Morley, Dr. John Earles, Mr. John Hales of Eton (the Memorable), and Mr. William Chillingworth. Of all these persons he has drawn elaborate characters. Among his familiar friends in the profession he mentions Mr. Lane (afterwards Lord Chief Baron) ; Mr. Geoffrey Palmer (afterwards Attorney-General), Mr. John Maynard, and Bulstrode Whitlocke (the well-known author of the 'Memorials,' and Lord Commissioner of the Great Seal under the Protectorate). And, besides the countenance of Laud, he enjoyed the favour of Lord Coventry (Lord Keeper), and of the Earl of Manchester (Lord Privy Seal), and the familiarity of the Lord Pembroke (Lord Chamberlain), of the Earl of Holland, and of "many other lords and ladies, and other persons of interest in the court."

Thus he continued to flourish professionally and socially,

when the parliament was summoned which met on the 13th of April, 1640,—the Short Parliament, as it was afterwards called. Hyde was returned both for Wootton Bassett and for Shaftesbury, and chose “to serve for his neighbours of the former place.” He immediately began to take an active part in the business of the House; his name, according to Mr. Lister, is to be found in seven of the twenty-one select committees appointed during the sixteen days the Commons sat; and he was the first member who attacked and proposed the removal of a specific grievance. On the 18th of April, only two days after the opening of the session, the Journals record that Mr. Hyde moved against the Court of Honour (that is, the Earl Marshal’s Court for exercising jurisdiction in regard to armorial bearings), and desired that the commission under pretence of which they demanded their fees might be sent for. He has himself given us a report of the speech with which he introduced this motion against a court which he describes as “newly erected without colour or shadow of law, which took upon it to fine and imprison the king’s subjects, and to give great damages for matters which the law gave no damages for.” But the principal question on which he distinguished himself was that of granting the king’s demand of a supply—the great, or rather sole object which had induced or compelled Charles to call a parliament after having governed for eleven years without one. Hampden, who had already taken his place as the leader of the popular party, when the granting of the supply came to be discussed on the 4th of May, moved that the question should be simply, whether the House would consent or not to the demand as made by the king, which was sure to be decided in the negative. To prevent this result Hyde proposed that the first question should be only, whether or not a supply should be granted. If this, he argued, should be carried in the affirmative, another question might be put upon the amount and the manner of the grant; if it should be carried in the negative, the effect would be the same as if Hampden’s motion should be so decided. After considerable debate and clamour, how-

ever, in the course of which Hyde's motion, to the general surprise of the House, was opposed by Herbert, the queen's Solicitor-General, Sir Henry Vane, the treasurer of the household, who appeared as the mouth-piece of the king, rose and declared that to carry that motion would be of no use, for he had authority to say that a supply would not be accepted by the king, if it were not granted in the proportion and manner proposed in his message. It is asserted that Vane, whatever his motive might be, had no warrant for making this declaration. The consequence was that the debate was adjourned, and on the next day the king came down and dissolved the parliament. Hyde had had reason to apprehend that this course would be taken; and after either the above or some previous debate he had gone over to Lambeth and endeavoured to persuade his friend the archbishop to interfere to prevent so ruinous a measure. He assured his grace that the present House was "as well constituted and disposed as ever House of Commons was or would be; that the number of the disaffected to church or state was very small; and though they, the disaffected, might obstruct for some time the quick resolving upon what was fit, they would never be able to pervert their [the other members'] good inclinations and desire to serve the king." Laud, whom he had found walking in his garden, and who appeared sad and full of thought, heard him, he says, very patiently, but replied, "that, for his own part, he was resolved to deliver no opinion; but, as he would not persuade the dissolution, which might be attended by consequences he could not foresee, so he had not so good an opinion of their affections to the king or the church, as to persuade their longer sitting, if the king were inclined to dissolve them."

Charles, however, was soon forced to summon another parliament—the Long Parliament—which met on the 3rd of November in this same year, 1640. To this new parliament Hyde was returned for the borough of Saltash. He describes its temper as very different from that of the last, and intimates that from the first

the popular majority evinced the strongest prejudice against himself. For some time, however, he acted with this party. "He was," he tells us, "very much in the business of the House; the greatest chairman in the committees of the greatest moment; and very diligent in attending the service both in the House and at committees; for he had from the beginning of the parliament laid aside his gown and practice, and wholly given himself up to the public business, which he saw so much concerned the peace and very being of the kingdom." He effected the abolition of the Earl Marshal's Court, the object of his attack in the former parliament. He took a prominent part in the proceedings against the Judges for the judgment against Hampden in the ship-money case. He principally conducted the proceedings for the suppression of the Court of York; or Council of the North. He undoubtedly concurred in the impeachment of Strafford, and there is every reason to believe that he also supported the bill of attainder, by which that minister was eventually destroyed. His own account, indeed, leaves us in the dark as to his conduct here, but this affords only an additional reason for suspecting that he had voted for the bill. Nay, there is some appearance of his having been favourable to the first bill (passed by the House on the 1st of May 1641), for turning the bishops out of the House of Lords; at least, he was one of a committee appointed on the 3rd of June to prepare reasons in answer to the Lords' objections to this bill.* Yet, according to his own account, he had opposed the proposition in the debate, maintaining that it went to change "the whole frame and constitution of

* This fact, which has been overlooked by Mr. Lister, is noticed by Lord Campbell ('Lives of Chancellors,' iii. 126). But his lordship is mistaken in supposing that it rests upon the evidence of the notes of the proceedings of the Long Parliament taken in pencil by Sir Ralph Verney, and lately published by the Camden Society. Sir Ralph's notes afford no evidence on the subject; the fact is merely mentioned by Mr. Bruce, the editor (p. 82), on the authority of the printed Journals of the House.

the kingdom and of the parliament itself." Perhaps he confounded the part which he took in regard to this bill, with that which he took in regard to the much more sweeping bill, "for the utter abolishing and taking away of all archbishops, bishops," &c., which was passed by the Commons, upon the rejection by the Lords of the former. This second bill he most probably opposed, as he assures us he did. He was put, indeed, he acknowledges, in the chair of the committee in which it was discussed; but this, he says, was done in order "that he might not give them trouble by frequently speaking, and so too much obstruct the expediting of the bill." It is certain that from about this date he began to separate himself from the popular party, and even to enter into distinct, though for some time secret, relations with the court.

He has himself given us an account of his first introduction to the king. One forenoon, in this summer of 1641, when the Commons (who then used to meet at eight in the morning) had adjourned in consequence of there being a conference with the Lords, as he was walking in the House, Mr. Percy, brother to the Earl of Northumberland, who was also a member, came up to him, and told him that the king desired he should come to him that afternoon. He attended accordingly at the hour appointed. As soon as he had kissed the king's hand, Mr. Percy, who had conducted him into the presence, withdrew, and he was left alone with his majesty. "The king," he proceeds to relate, "told him that he heard from all hands how much he was beholden to him, and that, when all his servants in the House of Commons either neglected his service or could not appear usefully in it, he took all occasions to do him service; for which he thought fit to give him his own thanks, and to assure him that he would remember it to his advantage. He took notice of his affection to the church, for which, he said, he thanked him more than for all the rest; which the other acknowledged with the duty that became him, and said, he was very happy that his majesty was pleased with what he did; but, if he had commanded him to have withdrawn his affection and

reverence for the church, he would not have obeyed him ; which his majesty said made him love him the better. Then he discoursed of the passion of the House, and of the bill then brought in against episcopacy, and asked him whether he thought they would be able to carry it ; to which he answered he believed they could not ; at least, that it would be very long first. ‘Nay,’ replied the king, ‘if you’ll look to it that they do not carry it before I go for Scotland, which will be at such a time, when the armies shall be disbanded, I will undertake for the church after that time.’ ‘Why then,’ said the other, ‘by the grace of God, it will not be in much danger.’ With which the king was well pleased, and dismissed him with very gracious expressions.” Hyde had never before this been in the royal presence.

Soon after this, and before he set out for Scotland in the beginning of August, Charles expressly appointed Lord Falkland, Sir John Colepepper, and Hyde, “to meet constantly together and consult upon his affairs, and conduct them the best way they could in the parliament, and to give him constant advice what he was to do, without which he declared again very solemnly he would take no step in the parliament.” Hyde accordingly continued his attendance in the House for some time after the king finally left London on the failure of his wild attempt to seize the five members on the 4th of January, 1642. His position, however, was a sufficiently awkward and disagreeable one ; for while he was thus, without any recognized office, the secret but suspected agent of the court, and was employed to write the principal state papers on the royal side, he soon found that he had no real power in directing the king’s proceedings. Speaking, in his History, of the attempt to seize the five members, he says, “The three persons before named, without whose privity the king had promised that he would enter upon no counsel, were so much displeased and dejected, that they were inclined never more to take upon them the care of anything to be transacted in the House, finding already that they could not avoid being looked upon as the authors of those counsels, to which they

were so absolute strangers, and which they so perfectly detested. And, in truth, they had [would have] then withdrawn themselves from appearing so often in the House, but upon the abstracted consideration of their duty and conscience, and of the present ill condition the king was in." Nor was it long before the three associates began to disagree among themselves, or at least to incline in different ways upon questions of the highest importance. Thus, a new bill for the exclusion of the bishops from the House of Lords having been forced through both Houses (it passed the Lords on the 5th of February, 1642), Charles was, on the 14th, prevailed upon to give his assent to it by the importunities of the queen, urged so to advise him by Colepepper, in opposition to the wishes both of Hyde and Falkland. A few days after, however, at an interview Hyde had with him at Greenwich, his majesty expressed his regret that he should have yielded on this occasion to his wife; and, being then about to proceed to the North, he repeated his commands to Hyde, "upon all occasions to write to him and advertise him of such matters as were fit for him to know; and to prepare and send him answers to such declarations or messages as the Parliament should send to him." Charles added that he knew well the danger to which Hyde would be exposed if their correspondence should be discovered; but he assured him that none should know of it except Colepepper and Falkland, and declared, for more security, that he would himself transcribe every paper before showing it to any one. When Hyde observed that he wrote a very ill hand, which would give his majesty a great deal of trouble, and proposed that Nicholas, the secretary, might be trusted with the transcription, Charles still insisted that he would quickly learn to read the hand if it were only written at first with a little more care, and nobody should see it but himself. "And, his majesty," adds Hyde, "continued so firm to this resolution, that, though the declarations from the Houses shortly after grew so voluminous that the answers frequently contained five or six sheets of paper, very closely writ, his majesty always transcribed

them with his own hand, which sometimes took him up two or three days and a good part of the night, before he produced them to the council, where they were first read, and then he burned the originals. And he gave himself no ease in this particular till Mr. Hyde left the parliament."

Not many weeks, however, brought his majesty's labours as a transcriber to a close. The royal messages and answers were manifestly of too much ability to have been drawn up by Charles himself, and Hyde had been for some time suspected for their author. He had been discovered shut up with the king in their late interview at Greenwich by the Earls of Essex and Holland; the Marquess of Hamilton had on a former occasion found him very early in the morning in private with his majesty at Windsor; and, besides, his frequent absences from the House, and the resort of Falkland and Colepepper to his lodging every night, satisfied the dominant party that he was the person. A design, Hyde says, was then formed to have the three seized and sent to the Tower, which they prevented being carried into effect by taking care that one of them should always be present in the House, and so never more than two of them be to be found together. At last, about the end of April, Hyde received a letter from the king, desiring his presence at York as soon as he could be spared from his business in London. It was thought best, however, that he should not leave immediately, he and his colleagues having at that time great occasion of consulting together and of sending dispatches to the king. "And it was," he tells us, "a wonderful expedition that was then used between York and London, when gentlemen undertook the service, as enough were willing to do, insomuch as when they dispatched a letter on Saturday night, at that time of the year, about twelve at night, they received always the king's answer on Monday by ten of the clock in the morning." This was wonderful expedition indeed, for the distance to be travelled over in the thirty-four hours was not less than four hundred miles, even if we suppose the messenger not to have been detained by the king

for a moment. It seems hardly credible that expresses could thus be regularly forwarded at the rate of twelve or thirteen miles an hour, in the then state of the roads and of the country, though such an exploit may perhaps have been performed on one or two extraordinary occasions. Hyde remained in London till after the passing by the parliament of their Declaration of the 19th of May, which, as it was very long, it was thought he might carry with him to the king, and prepare the answer to it upon the way, or after he came to York. He proceeded first to the house of the Lady Lee, at Ditchley, in Oxfordshire; thence his friend Chillingworth conducted him first to a village near Coventry, where a brother of Chillingworth's had a farm, and the next morning to Lutterworth, in Leicestershire, where they lodged with the parson of the parish, who was a friend of Chillingworth's. Avoiding in this way the usual roads, he at last reached Nostall, the house of Sir John Worstenholme, within twenty miles of York, where he lay concealed till the King sent for him after a few days. Meanwhile his absence had produced a motion in the House of Commons that he should be sent for. He had got his physician, Dr. Winston, to certify to the Speaker that he was troubled with the stone, and that he had advised him to go to the country for change of air, his having sat so much in the House in that very hot weather having done him harm; and the motion was allowed to drop: but one member insisted "that he was troubled with no other stone than the stone in his heart, and therefore he would have him sent for wherever he was, for he was most confident that he was doing them mischief wherever he was." Nothing, however, was done till they were informed that he was safe at York, and almost constantly with his majesty. A vote, he says, was afterwards passed, by which he was by name exempted from pardon in any accommodation that should be made with the king.

The king now would have had him take the office of Secretary of State in place of Nicholas, whom he proposed to transfer to that of Master of the Wards; but

this he declined, both out of regard to Nicholas, who he saw clearly would be disappointed in any expectation he might entertain of profit from the Wards as affairs then stood, and from feeling, as he told the king, "that his unskilfulness in languages, and his not understanding foreign affairs, rendered him very incapable of that trust." Some time after, however, he consented to accept the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer, upon its being vacated by Colepepper for that of Master of the Rolls; and he was thereupon sworn of the Privy Council and knighted. This appears to have been in January or February, 1643.

The battle of Edge-hill had already been fought (on Sunday, 23rd October, 1642); Hyde being present as a spectator, and having under his charge the two young princes, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, guarded only by the company of pensioners. He says, in his History, that if the enemy's horse, when left in temporary possession of the field during the absence of Prince Rupert, had bestirred themselves, "they might with little difficulty have destroyed or taken prisoner the king himself, and his two sons . . . being with fewer than one hundred horse, and those without officer or commander, within half musquet-shot of that body, before he suspected them to be enemies."

After the fall of Lord Falkland at the battle of Newbury, fought 19th September, 1643, the office of one of the Secretaries of State, which he had held, was again offered to Hyde; but he declined it, as before, and Lord Digby, whom the Queen supported, was on his recommendation appointed. It was by Hyde's advice that on the 22nd of October a proclamation, which he drew up, was issued by Charles, summoning the parliament to meet at Oxford, where accordingly a considerable number of members of both Houses assembled on the appointed day, the 21st of January, 1644. Hyde was employed as one of the Commissioners for the king in the negotiations for a treaty begun at Uxbridge on the 30th of January, 1645, and carried on for twenty days with no result, though with immense expenditure of activity on

both sides. "They," says Hyde, in his History, "who had been most inured to business had not in their lives ever undergone so great fatigue for twenty days together as at that treaty. The commissioners seldom parted during that whole time till two or three of the clock in the morning; besides, they were obliged to sit up later, who had to prepare such papers as were directed for the next day, and to write letters to Oxford; so that, if the treaty had continued much longer, it is very probable many of the commissioners must have fallen sick for want of sleep." He was himself the person upon whom the labour of preparing the papers principally fell.

Soon after this the king determined to send the Prince of Wales, young as he was, into the west of England, with the commission of General of all his Majesty's forces in England; and Hyde, still retaining his office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, was nominated one of the council appointed to attend and direct him. The last interview he had with his majesty was on the morning of the day they set out. After having given his blessing to his son—whom also he was never to behold again—Charles sent for Sir Edward into his bed-chamber, and after a short conversation embraced him and gave him his hand to kiss. The day, he says, was the 4th of March: according to the Diary of Sir William Dugdale, it was the 5th. Their journey, which was on horseback, Clarendon relates in his Life, was made in one continued storm of rain from the minute they left Oxford till they got to Farringdon, where they passed the night. The next day they got as far as Devizes; and the third day to Bath, where they stayed two or three days. "In this journey," he adds, "the Chancellor was first assaulted with the gout, having never had the least apprehension of it before; but from his coming to Bath he was not able to stand; and so went by coach to Bristol, where in few days he recovered that first lameness, which ever after afflicted him too often."

In this disastrous year for the royal cause, however, every thing went wrong in the west as well as in all other parts of the kingdom. The Prince and his council

soon found themselves without any efficient power to controul the turbulence and rivalry of Lord Goring and the other generals and commanders of garrisons in the district. On the royal side, in fact, as well as on that of the parliament, the sword was fast becoming supreme. The battle of Naseby was fought on the 14th of June ; and from that date the king never had a chance. One town and place of strength after another now fell rapidly into the hands of the parliament. In these circumstances the Prince and his council retreated in the first instance into Cornwall, whither they were pursued by Fairfax. After having taken refuge first in Truro, and afterwards in Pendennis Castle, on the 2nd of March, 1646, his royal highness, attended by Hyde, and others of his suite, embarked about ten o'clock at night for the isle of Scilly, where they arrived safe on the afternoon of the 4th. Here, where Clarendon appears to have commenced his 'History of the Rebellion,' they remained for nearly six weeks, having sometimes scarcely anything to eat, and enduring in other respects severe discomfort and privations. But even in this wretched state the appearance of a hostile fleet in the neighbourhood of the island—which, however, was dispersed by a storm—warned them that they were not in safety ; and a few days after, on the 16th of April, they again ventured to sea, and, setting sail for Jersey, arrived there on the following day.

Hyde's decided opinion was, that Jersey, being, as he conceived, sufficiently fortified against any attack likely to be made by the parliament, was for many reasons by far the best place for the residence of the Prince till the course of events should take a new turn. But the queen was eager, for her own purposes, to have her son with her in Paris ; and, a peremptory order to that effect having been at last obtained from the king a short time before he left Oxford and delivered himself up to the Scots, his royal highness took his departure for France about the middle of July. Hyde, as well as Lord Capel and Lord Hopton, the other members of his council who were still with him, declined accompanying him, on the ground

that their attendance and advice could be of no further use in the new circumstances in which he was to be placed. In his *Life* Hyde writes:—"The Prince having left Jersey, about July, in the year 1646, the Chancellor of the Exchequer remained there about two years after; where he presently betook himself to his study, and enjoyed, as he was wont to say, the greatest tranquillity of mind imaginable. Whilst the Lords Capel and Hopton staid there, they lived and kept house together in St. Hilary's, which is the chief town of the island; where, having a chaplain of their own, they had prayers every day in the church at eleven of the clock in the morning; till which hour they enjoyed themselves in their chambers according as they thought fit; the Chancellor betaking himself to the continuance of the History which he had begun at Scilly, and spending part of his time at that exercise. The other two walked or rode abroad, or read, as they were disposed; but at the hour of prayers they always met, and then dined together at the Lord Hopton's lodging, which was the best house; they being lodged in several houses, with convenience enough. Their table was maintained at their joint expense only for dinners, they never using to sup; but [they] met always upon the sands in the evening to walk, often going to the castle to Sir George Carteret, who treated them with extraordinary kindness and civility, and spent much time with them. And in truth the whole island showed great affection to them; and all the persons of quality invited them to their houses to very good entertainments, and all other ways expressed great esteem towards them." After some time, however, first Capel, and then Hopton, left the island; upon which Hyde, by invitation of Sir George Carteret, the governor, took up his abode with him in the castle; and here he remained so long as he continued in Jersey. "He built," he tells us, "a lodging in the castle, of two or three convenient rooms, by the wall of the church, which Sir George Carteret had repaired and beautified; and over the door of his lodging he set up his arms, with this in-

scription, *Bene vixit qui bene latuit*.* And he always took pleasure in relating with what great tranquillity of spirit, though deprived of the joy he took in his wife and children, he spent his time here amongst his books, which he got from Paris, and his papers; between which he seldom spent less than ten hours in the day. And it can hardly be believed how much he read and wrote there; insomuch as he did usually compute that during his whole stay in Jersey, which was some months above two years, he writ daily little less than one sheet of large paper with his own hand." Writing to Lord Bristol on the 1st of July, 1646, he states that he had by that time brought his History (with the exception of documents to be inserted) down to the king's erection of his standard at Nottingham; which would imply that he had written at least the first draught of five of the sixteen Books. To Dr. Sheldon he writes in August, 1647:—"I have read over Livy and Tacitus, and almost all Tully's works; and have written since I came into this blessed isle near three hundred large sheets of paper in this delicate hand." A few months before this, however, he seems to have almost made up his mind to drop his History altogether for the present, in the difficulty he experienced in obtaining the necessary information. "Since I find most men," he writes to Dr. Earles, in March, 1647, "so unconcerned to contribute towards it, and some, who are very able to satisfy me in what I have desired, so positive against the doing it, contrary to my expectations, I have resolved to lay the task aside till a fitter season." Although he was disappointed, however, in some quarters, his applications were more successful in others. The king in particular took a great interest in the progress of the work, and sent him a narrative of the course of events from the time they parted at Oxford till his majesty went and gave himself up to the Scotch.

All this while his family were with some of his wife's relations in Wiltshire. It would appear that what prin-

* He hath lived well who hath well escaped notice.

cipally prevented their coming to him was the want of pecuniary means, for his property had of course been confiscated, and they were dependent even for subsistence upon the charity of their friends. Writing to Secretary Nicholas, in December, 1646, Hyde says, "I receive no intelligence from England, but only out of the country from my wife, who, I thank God, bears her part with miraculous constancy and courage, which truly is an unspeakable comfort to me. We may, I hope, be able to live some time asunder, but I am sure we should quickly starve if we were together; yet, when starving comes to be necessary, to be more feared than hanging, we will starve together." In a previous letter to Lady Dalkeith, we find him mentioning that his man had at last returned with what was great good news to him, incredible stories of his wife's courage and magnanimity; "and that, though she should be in want of every thing, she will be cast down with nothing."

At last, in May, 1648, while the king, after making his escape from Hampton Court, was detained in the Isle of Wight, Hyde was summoned to repair to the Prince at Paris; and, leaving Jersey in the latter part of June, he proceeded by land to Rouen, where he found his friend Nicholas and other royalists, who had received the same commands. Here they learned that the Prince had embarked for Holland to take the command of a portion of the English fleet that had come over to that coast after having declared for the king; and upon this intelligence they removed to Dieppe, whence they soon after embarked in what was called a French man-of-war, which engaged to carry them to Dunkirk. Hyde says that he himself "knew nothing of the sea, nor understood the hazards thereof; being always so afflicted upon that element with sickness;" he therefore trusted every thing to Lord Cottington, who was with him; "and so, giving the captain as much money as he demanded, they put themselves upon his miserable frigate, where they had no accommodations but the open deck." They were, however, landed safely at Dunkirk. Here they heard that

the Prince was with the fleet in the Thames, and were immediately offered the use of a frigate, in which to go to him, by Marshal Ranzau, the governor of the town. Hyde's description of Ranzau is curious. "He received them," he tells us, when they went to wait upon him the morning after their arrival, "with great civility: being a very proper man, of a most extraordinary presence and aspect, and might well be reckoned a very handsome man, though he had but one leg, one hand, one eye, and one ear, the other being cut off with that side of his face, besides many other cuts on the other cheek and upon his head, with many wounds in the body: notwithstanding all which he stood very upright, and had a very graceful motion, a clear brow, and a charming delivery; and if he had not, according to the custom of his nation (for he was a German), too much indulged in the excess of wine, he had been one of the most excellent captains of that age." After giving them an excellent and jovial dinner, he put them on board the promised frigate, which he said outsailed all the vessels of that coast, and for its swiftness was called the Hare. This quality, however, proved of no avail: for the next morning, in a dead calm, when not far from Ostend, they found themselves suddenly surrounded by six or seven vessels, which pretended to be commissioned by the King of Spain, but were really mere privateers, or rather pirates. These freebooters immediately boarded the frigate with their swords drawn, and pistols cocked; and after having stripped the servants to their shirts, and pillaged the passengers, carried them all prisoners to Ostend. Hyde says he lost above 200*l.* in money, and all his clothes and linen. They were discharged on being brought before the magistrates of the town: but several subsequent attempts which they made to join the Prince failed, and his royal highness was himself ere long forced to retire before the fleet of the parliament, commanded by the Earl of Warwick. Hyde was at last enabled to join him at the Hague in September.

Here Sir Edward remained for about eight months, in the course of which the Prince became king, in the esti-

mation of his party, by the death of his father in January, 1649. Hyde gave his best assistance to the management of affairs amid the complicated difficulties of his royal master's position : but he was very well pleased when it was arranged that he and Cottington should be sent together as ambassadors to Spain, to try if they could obtain some pecuniary assistance from that court. He now sent for his wife and children to meet him at Antwerp, with the intention that they should remain there during his absence. He and Cottington left the Hague about the middle of May, and journeying by Antwerp and Brussels, proceeded in the first instance to St. Germain, near Paris, whither Charles had also come on a visit to his mother. Here the ambassadors remained till near the end of September, when Charles went to Jersey, whence he soon after proceeded to Scotland, and they pursued their journey to Madrid. But they could make nothing of the Spanish government or court ; and, after a vain solicitation of fifteen months, when their hopes had been finally destroyed by the expulsion of Charles from Scotland, they left that capital in March, 1651. During his residence in Spain, Hyde had frequently been reduced to the most distressing state of destitution. We find him declaring in a letter to Nicholas, written on the 6th of January, 1650, that all his money is gone, and that he does not know or can imagine how they are to get bread for a month longer. And in several subsequent letters he speaks of being driven almost crazy by his necessities and those which his poor wife was enduring, and from which he had not the means of relieving her. Yet, as usual, he did not lose his time. "The less of business he had," he tells us, referring to this period, towards the conclusion of his Life, "he was the more vacant to study the language and the manners and the government of that nation. He made a collection of and read many of the best books which are extant in that language, especially in the histories of their civil and ecclesiastical state. Upon the reading the ' Pontifical History ' written by Iilascas, in two volumes, and continued by one or two

others in three other volumes, he begun there first his 'Animadversions upon the Superiority and Supremacy of the Pope,' which he afterwards continued to a perfect work. Here he resumed the continuation of his 'Devotions on the Psalms,' and other discourses of piety and devotion, which he reviewed and enlarged in his later times of leisure."

On his return from Spain he joined his family at Antwerp, and here he remained till he was summoned to Paris by Charles, after his escape from the battle of Worcester, towards the close of the year 1651. He arrived in the French capital on Christmas-Day. Here he was no better off than he had been at Madrid. In November, 1652, we find him writing, "I have not been master of a crown these many months, am cold for want of clothes and fire, and owe for all the meat which I have eaten these three months, and to a poor woman who is no longer able to trust: and my poor family at Antwerp (which breaks my heart) is in as sad a state as I am." "I am so cold," he says, "that I am scarce able to hold my pen, and have not three sous in the world to buy a faggot." He bore all these distresses, however, with extraordinary fortitude and even cheerfulness; nor was he cast down or unduly discomposed even by much ill-usage, which he received from the queen-mother, who, finding she could not make him her partizan or tool in her scheme for maintaining an absolute ascendancy over the mind of her son, early conceived a strong aversion to him, and at last showed herself his open enemy.

When Charles took his departure from Paris in June, 1654, and proceeded to Spa, there to meet his sister the Princess of Orange, Hyde accompanied him; but on the way obtained leave to go and visit his wife and family, who, since the preceding autumn, had been residing at Breda, in a house which the Princess of Orange had allowed them to inhabit rent-free. He had one daughter and three sons; and the princess soon after conferred another kindness upon him, by offering his daughter the place of a maid of honour in her household. It was in consequence of this appointment that Anne Hyde be-

came known to the Duke of York, who afterwards made her his wife.

In the latter part of this year Hyde joined Charles at Cologne; and for the succeeding six years he continued for the most part with his royal master, attending him to Breda, Brussels, Bruges, and other places to which he successively transferred himself in conformity with the exigencies and changing positions or prospects of affairs. During all this period Hyde may be considered to have been his principal adviser. On the 13th of January, 1658, he was, in a council held at Bruges, invested with the office of Lord Chancellor. On the Restoration, in May, 1660, he accompanied Charles to England; and on the 1st of June, he took his seat both in the Court of Chancery and as Speaker in the House of Lords. Soon after he resigned his other office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, which was given to Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper (afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury).

Hyde, who was on the 3rd of November, 1660, created Baron Hyde, of Hindon, and at the coronation in April of the following year further elevated to the dignities of Viscount Cornbury and Earl of Clarendon, was in fact the head of the administration. He had been moreover suddenly placed in a very peculiar position in reference to the king and the royal family by an extraordinary circumstance, the avowal by the Duke of York of a marriage with his daughter. It was affirmed that they had been secretly contracted to one another at Breda on the 24th of November, 1659: the marriage ceremony was solemnized at Worcester House, London, then the residence of the Lord Chancellor, in the presence of Lord Ossory and a maid servant, on the 3rd of September, 1660; on the 22nd of October the Duchess produced a child; and she was publicly acknowledged by the duke as his wife when her confinement was over, or before the end of the year. The part which her father acted on this remarkable occasion was, even according to his own account, very curious. He has himself told the whole story in ample detail; and we have also the duke's version of it, at least in substance,

in the abstract of his *Memoirs* published in the *Stuart Papers*.

This incident certainly did not, at the time when it happened, shake the Chancellor in the king's favour or good opinion. It was after Charles was made acquainted with the marriage, as we have seen, that he was made a peer; and it was expressly, indeed, in order that it might be understood as a public testimony of his continued regard that his majesty now insisted upon his acceptance of that honour, which he had declined when it was offered to him some time before. His majesty also about the same time made him a present of 20,000*l.*; and offered him a grant of 10,000 acres of Crown land, which he thought fit to decline. The next year, too, besides his elevation in the peerage, he had an offer of the Order of the Garter; which also he declined. But perhaps, after all, this marriage contributed, though indirectly, more than any other single cause, to Clarendon's eventual loss of the royal favour and fall from power. There was indeed a concurrence of many other causes. The Chancellor had from the first alienated a large portion of the community by his steady support of the Established Church. On the other hand, he had made the Roman Catholic interest hostile to him, and had also incurred the temporary displeasure of the king, by his opposition to the Declaration of Indulgence issued in 1662. He had also, immediately after the Restoration, committed an offence which the Cavaliers never forgave, in promoting the Act of Indemnity. The mere decency of his life made him an object of dislike to the generality of the courtiers and profligate wits of the time, as well as to the royal mistresses; while his commanding talents and his ascendancy with the king excited the envy and hatred of many rivals. Then a variety of untoward circumstances and events had brought upon him an accumulation of general unpopularity and odium. He was looked upon as the principal author of the king's marriage, which had turned out so unfortunate in all respects, bringing no domestic happiness to his majesty, no heir to the throne to avert a popish succession, nothing except only the

troublesome and expensive possession of Tangier; of the sale of Dunkirk to France, by which it was universally conceived that the nation was both injured and dishonoured; of the war with the Dutch, which broke out in 1665, and which was attended with so many indubitable disasters and disgraces; not to speak of the great plague and the fire of London, which came at the same time to add to the public calamities. Much indignation, moreover, was excited by an unfortunate act of imprudence on the part of the Chancellor, his erection of a magnificent town residence (it stood at the southern extremity of the present Albemarle-street, looking down upon St. James's-street), which was finished in the spring of 1667, and the cost of which far transcended his visible means, or at least what he could apparently have acquired by the legitimate profits of his place. Instead of Clarendon House, people used to call it Tangier House, or Holland House, or Dunkirk House, by way of indicating the source or sources from which the money came. The truth is, that the expense proved three times as much as Clarendon had been led to reckon upon—more than 50,000*l.* instead of less than 20,000*l.* In some of these feelings of dissatisfaction Charles himself was likely enough to share; and the freedom of remonstrance which Clarendon had so long been accustomed to employ, while it probably grew less ceremonious on the part of the minister the longer it was continued—especially seeing how much more urgently it would seem to him to be called for—may be supposed to have naturally become every day more distasteful and irksome to his majesty, and that for various reasons—that it was the more deserved, for one; but it would appear that what finally fixed Charles's aversion was his taking it into his head that it was Clarendon who had frustrated his scheme for having the queen divorced, and marrying the beautiful Miss Stewart, by the effectual contrivance of getting the lady clandestinely married to the Duke of Richmond. He had one day met Lord Cornbury, Clarendon's son, at Miss Stewart's door, and had thereupon come to that conclusion. The motive he imputed to the Chancellor, of

course, was, that his own grandchildren might not be cut out of the succession to the throne. It appears to have been in the beginning of August, 1667, that Charles first proposed to Clarendon, in a message sent through the Duke of York, that he should surrender the great seal. The parliament, he directed the duke to say, which had just been prorogued after having only been allowed to sit for a few days, and both Houses of which, he well knew, participated in the general hostile sentiment of which the doomed minister had become the object out of doors, would be sure to impeach him at their next meeting. The Chancellor positively refused to sign his own condemnation by assenting to the king's proposal; vigorous efforts were made to move his majesty from his resolution, both by Clarendon himself, and by the Duke of York and others of his friends; but on the 30th, Charles, under other influences, put an end to the controversy by sending a messenger with a warrant, under the sign manual, expressly requiring and commanding the holder of the great seal to deliver it up. It was given the next day, with the title of Lord Keeper, to Sir Orlando Bridgman.

But it was determined to drive Clarendon not only from office, but from the country. Upon a broad hint in the king's speech, at the opening of the session of parliament on the 10th of October, the Commons, in their address, returned especial thanks to his majesty for having "been pleased to displace the late Lord Chancellor, and remove him from the execution of public trust and employment in affairs of state;" and the Lords were, after some reluctance, prevailed upon to concur in this address, by threats on his majesty's part that it should go worse for the fallen minister if they did not, and by an unsparing employment of the influence of the crown. In his answer to the two Houses, Charles said, "I am glad the things I have done have given you so good satisfaction. And, for the Earl of Clarendon, I assure you I will never employ him again in any public affairs whatsoever." This beginning was speedily followed up by the appointment of a Committee of the House of Commons, which,

on the 6th of November, reported to the House seventeen charges as grounds for an impeachment of the earl. He was accused, among other things, of having advised the king to govern without parliaments, and by a military force; of having asserted that his majesty was a papist, or popishly inclined; of having received large sums of money for the passing of illegal patents; of having procured divers persons to be illegally imprisoned; of having been guilty of the corrupt sale of offices; of having procured the Customs to be farmed at under rates, and taken bribes for so doing; of having gained to himself a greater estate than could be imagined to be lawfully gained in so short a time, and of having procured several grants from the king to himself and his relations, to the disprofit of his majesty; of having advised the sale of Dunkirk; of having issued *quo warrantos* to a great many corporations, with the mere view of extorting large sums of money from them, for the renewing of their charters; of having deluded and betrayed his majesty and the nation in foreign treaties and negotiations relating to the late war; and of having been the principal author of the fatal counsel of dividing the fleet commanded by Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle, in June, 1666,—a proceeding to which was attributed the unsatisfactory result of the great battle with the Dutch, which took place a few days after. It was finally carried that he should be impeached of treason, not on any of these charges, but on a clause subsequently added to one of them, to the effect that he had discovered and betrayed his majesty's secret counsels to the enemy. The impeachment was presented at the bar of the Lords on the 12th of November. The end was that Clarendon, though protesting his innocence, was prevailed upon, by the urgent entreaties of his friends, to take flight on the 29th for the continent. It was represented to him that his ruin had been resolved upon by the king, who was said to have threatened that if there should seem to be any doubt about the success of the impeachment, he would have him taken out of the hands of the Lords and tried by a special commission; and that his quitting the

country was the only chance he had of saving his life. He left, however, a written vindication addressed to the Lords, in which he entered into full explanations of such of the charges as admitted of being so met, and solemnly denied the rest. An act was afterwards passed banishing him for life, disabling him from ever again holding office, subjecting him, if he should return to England, to the penalties of high treason, and rendering him incapable of pardon without the consent of the two Houses of Parliament.

The commencement of Clarendon's flight was eminently disastrous. Having reached Calais, he was at first refused permission to remain in France by the government of that country, which, at the moment, was anxious to conciliate the King of England. When he heard of the act of banishment, which only left it in his power to escape its penalties if he should return by the 1st of February, he instantly determined to face his accusers at all hazards, but was prevented from moving before the fatal day by an illness which nearly brought him to his grave. The relations between the two courts having undergone a change, and leave to remain in the French territory having been in consequence accorded to him, he narrowly escaped losing his life, from an attack made upon him at Evreux, by some English sailors, who insisted upon getting from him some arrears of pay which they said were due to them. At length, however, he was enabled to establish himself at Montpellier, in July, 1668; and here he enjoyed about two years of such tranquillity as he had hardly known in his life before for so long a space. "When he found himself," he tells us, "at this ease, and with those convenient accommodations, that he might reasonably believe he should be no more exposed to the troubles and distresses which he had passed through, he began to think of composing his mind to his fortune, and of regulating and governing his own thoughts and affections towards such a tranquillity as the sickness of mind and body, and the continued sharp fatigue in the six or seven precedent months, had not suffered to enter into any formal deliberation. And it pleased God, in a

short time, after some recollections, and upon his entire confidence in Him, to restore him to that serenity of mind and resignation of himself to the disposal and good pleasure of God, that they who conversed most with him could not discover the least murmur or impatience in him, or any unevenness in his conversations. He resolved to improve his understanding of the French language, not towards speaking it, the defect of which he found many conveniences in, but for the reading any books, and to learn the Italian : towards both which he made a competent progress, and had opportunity to buy or borrow any good books he desired to peruse." It was while here, also, that he began the narrative he has left us of his Life, and finished the first seven parts of it, coming down to the Restoration. He wrote, besides, a more ample Vindication of himself from the charges of the Commons ; and several Essays and other miscellaneous compositions.

Before June, 1671, he had left Montpelier for Moulins, and there he remained till the end of April, 1674. On the 31st of March, 1671, he had lost his daughter, the Duchess of York ; the grief he suffered from her death being greatly aggravated by her having died a Roman Catholic. Of four sons and as many daughters she had borne her husband, three of the sons and one daughter were already dead ; the remaining son and another daughter followed in the course of the same year with their mother ; and of the eight only two daughters, afterwards Queen Mary and Queen Anne, survived. Clarendon had also lost his wife just before his fall. At Moulins he was visited in June, 1671, by his second son Lawrence ; and by him, when he returned to England, he sent a letter to the king, informing his majesty that he had completed his History, and entreating that "an old man who had served the crown above thirty years, in some trust, and with some acceptance," might be permitted to end his days, which could not be many, in his own country and in the society of his children. But to this moving appeal no answer appears to have been returned. Clarendon continued to reside at Moulins for

nearly three years longer ; during which time he began the Continuation of his Life (which is three times the length of the previous part of the narrative), and wrote besides his View and Survey of Hobbes's Leviathan, an Historical Discourse on the Usurpations of the Papal Jurisdiction, a second volume of Essays, and other works. He also commenced the laying down of what he calls "a method for the better disposing the history of England, that it may be more profitably and exactly communicated than it hath yet been ;" and, in short, to use his own words, "left so many papers of several kinds, and cut out so many pieces of work, that a man may conclude that he never intended to be idle."

He still, nevertheless, fondly cherished the hope of being permitted to die in England. In the spring of 1674, he removed to Rouen ; and thence in the end of August, after he had been reduced to great weakness by an attack of gout, he addressed letters to the king, the queen, and the Duke of York, pathetically beseeching leave to return to his native country. "Since it will be in nobody's power," he said, "long to keep me from dying, methinks the desiring a place to die in should not be thought a great presumption, nor unreasonable for me to beg leave to die in my own country, and among my own children." But his request was unheeded ; and he died in Rouen on the 9th of December, in the same year. His eldest son, Lord Cornbury, had been sent for, and was with him in his last moments. His body was brought over to England, and buried on the 4th of January, 1675, on the north side of Henry VII.'s Chapel, in Westminster Abbey. The male issue of his eldest son failed in Edward, third Earl of Clarendon, who died in 1723 ; but the present Earl of Darnley is descended from a daughter of that earl. Clarendon's second son, Lawrence, was created Earl of Rochester in 1683 ; and his son Henry, second Earl of Rochester, became fourth Earl of Clarendon on the death of his cousin ; but both titles failed on his own death without male issue in 1753. The present Earl of Clarendon is descended from a daughter of this fourth

earl, who married William Capel, Earl of Essex, and whose daughter married Thomas Villiers, second son of William Earl of Jersey, who was created Baron Hyde of Hindon in 1756, and Earl of Clarendon in 1776.

The sketch that has been given of his eventful life will sufficiently indicate Clarendon's moral character, as well as his political course. The friends and enemies of the principles upon which he acted, or the side upon which he ranged himself, will naturally take different views of some parts of his conduct; extreme partizans may even see nothing in him to be blamed, or nothing to be admired; but, while it may be admitted that his system of ethics was to some extent conventional, a calm and candid examination will, we believe, acquit him of having acted upon any occasion in direct violation of what he considered to be the rule of right. Even in his behaviour at the time of his daughter's marriage, there may have been more of what he himself, at least, took for sincerity and real feeling, than of the acting, or overacting, which it must be confessed it looks so like even in his own relation. The very fact of his having recorded it is strong evidence that he did not suppose it would be thought discreditable. At any rate, **on this** and on some other occasions his position was a very difficult and perplexing one, and some allowance may reasonably be made for him. Nor ought we in judging of him to forget either the trying temptations of all kinds through which he had to pass, or the general moral character of the times in which he lived. Of many charges which have been brought against his integrity, we may safely say that no one has been substantiated; and he may be fairly characterized as having probably been upon the whole as honest a man as we have a right to expect that he should have been in the circumstances. He will, at least, stand a comparison with any other minister of the Restoration. Besides that his private character had never been sullied by any notorious vice, (and that in an age of so much vicious example), he certainly in the course of his very extraordinary fortunes displayed many high and admirable qualities. Even his

steady adherence to the cause to which he had attached himself throughout so many years of hopeless depression is something very fine, especially when viewed in contrast with the ungrateful return he met with for all his services and all his sacrifices. His literary reputation rests upon his History, which is undoubtedly, with all its faults and deficiencies, one of the greatest in the short list of our English historical works. It is full of inaccuracies as to dates and other such minutiae, and it is of course a one-sided account throughout; but there is nothing either little or mean in its partizanship, nor does its looseness of statement much affect its value either as a narrative of events, or as a composition. The general course of the great contest is, at least, very distinctly presented; and the broad masses into which the picture rolls itself are little injured in their effect by petty incorrectnesses in the details. Even when literally incorrect, they generally convey the true spirit of the story. And the great peculiarity and merit of Clarendon's manner may, perhaps, be said to lie in his power of combining volume and massiveness with the life and interest of minute delineation. It is not, perhaps, either a grand or a picturesque manner; but it is made up of qualities as like to or as near to grandeur and picturesqueness as can well be brought into union.





THAT sanctity which settles on the memory of a great man ought, upon a double motive, to be vigilantly sustained by his countrymen ; first, out of gratitude to him, as one column of the national grandeur ; secondly, with a practical purpose of transmitting unimpaired to posterity the benefit of ennobling models. High standards of excellence are among the happiest distinctions by which the modern ages of the world have an advantage over earlier, and we are all interested by duty as well as policy in preserving them inviolate. To the benefit of this principle, none amongst the great men of England is better entitled than Milton, whether as respects his transcendent merit, or the harshness with which his memory has been treated.

John Milton was born in London on the 9th day of December, 1608. His father, in early life, had suffered for conscience' sake, having been disinherited upon his abjuring the popish faith. He pursued the laborious

profession of a scrivener, and having realized an ample fortune, retired into the country to enjoy it. Educated at Oxford, he gave his son the best education that the age afforded. At first, young Milton had the benefit of a private tutor; from him he was removed to St. Paul's School; next he proceeded to Christ's College, Cambridge; and finally, after several years' preparation by extensive reading, he pursued a course of continental travel. It is to be observed, that his tutor, Thomas Young, was a Puritan, and there is reason to believe that Puritan politics prevailed among the fellows of his college. This must not be forgotten in speculating on Milton's public life, and his inexorable hostility to the established government in church and state; for it will thus appear probable that he was at no time withdrawn from the influence of Puritan connexions.

In 1632, having taken the degree of M.A., Milton finally quitted the University, leaving behind him a very brilliant reputation, and a general good will in his own college. His father had now retired from London, and lived upon his own estate at Horton, in Buckinghamshire. In this rural solitude Milton passed the next five years, resorting to London only at rare intervals, for the purchase of books and music. His time was chiefly occupied with the study of Greek and Roman, and, no doubt, also of Italian literature. But that he was not negligent of composition, and that he applied himself with great zeal to the culture of his native literature, we have a splendid record in his '*Comus*,' which, upon the strongest presumptions, is ascribed to this period of his life. In the same neighbourhood, and within the same five years, it is believed that he produced also the *Arcades*, and the *Lycidas*, together with *L'Allegro*, and *Il Penseroso*.

In 1637 Milton's mother died, and in the following year he commenced his travels. The state of Europe confined his choice of ground to France and Italy. The former excited in him but little interest. After a short stay at Paris he pursued the direct route to Nice, where he embarked for Genoa. and thence proceeded to Pisa,

Florence, Rome, and Naples. He originally meant to extend his tour to Sicily and Greece ; but the news of the first Scotch war having now reached him, agitated his mind with too much patriotic sympathy to allow of his embarking on a scheme of such uncertain duration. Yet his homeward movements were not remarkable for expedition. He had already spent two months in Florence, and as many in Rome, yet he devoted the same space of time to each of them on his return. From Florence he proceeded to Lucca, and thence, by Bologna and Ferrara, to Venice ; where he remained one month, and then pursued his homeward route through Verona, Milan, and Geneva.

Sir Henry Wotton had recommended, as the rule of his conduct, a celebrated Italian proverb, inculcating the policy of reserve and dissimulation. From a practised diplomatist, this advice was characteristic ; but it did not suit the frankness of Milton's manners, nor the nobleness of his mind. He has himself stated to us his own rule of conduct, which was to move no questions of controversy, yet not to evade them when pressed upon him by others. Upon this principle he acted, not without some offence to his associates, nor wholly without danger to himself. But the offence, doubtless, was blended with respect ; the danger was passed ; and he returned home with all his purposes fulfilled. He had conversed with Galileo ; he had seen whatever was most interesting in the monuments of Roman grandeur, or the triumphs of Italian art ; and he could report with truth, that in spite of his religion, every where undissembled, he had been honoured by the attentions of the great, and by the compliments of the learned.

After fifteen months of absence, Milton found himself again in London at a crisis of unusual interest. The king was on the eve of his second expedition against the Scotch ; and we may suppose Milton to have been watching the course of events with profound anxiety, not without some anticipation of the patriotic labour which awaited him. Meantime he occupied himself with the education of his sister's two sons, and soon after by way

of obtaining an honourable maintenance, increased the number of his pupils.

Dr. Johnson, himself at one period of his life a school-master, on this occasion indulges in a sneer which is too injurious to be neglected. "Let not our veneration for Milton," says he, "forbid us to look with some degree of merriment on great promises and small performance: on the man who hastens home because his countrymen are contending for their liberty; and when he reaches the scene of action, vapours away his patriotism in a private boarding-school." It is not true that Milton had made "great promises," on any promises at all. But if he had made the greatest, his exertions for the next sixteen years nobly redeemed them. In what way did Dr. Johnson expect that his patriotism should be expressed? As a soldier? Milton has himself urged his bodily weakness and intellectual strength as reasons for following a line of duty for which he was better fitted. Was he influenced in his choice by fear of military dangers or hardships? Far from it; "for I did not," he says, "shun those evils, without engaging to render to my fellow-citizens services much more useful, and attended with no less of danger." What services were those? We shall state them in his own words, anticipated from an after period. "When I observed that there are in all three modes of liberty—first, ecclesiastical liberty; secondly, civil liberty; thirdly, domestic: having myself already treated of the first, and noticing that the magistrate was taking steps in behalf of the second, I concluded that the third, that is to say, domestic, or household liberty, remained to me as my peculiar province. And whereas this again is capable of a three-fold division, accordingly as it regards the interests of conjugal life in the first place, or those of education in the second, or finally the freedom of speech, and the right of giving full publication to sound opinions,—I took it upon myself to defend all three, the first, by my *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, the second, by my *Tractate upon Education*, the third, by my *Areopagitica*."

In 1641 he conducted his defence of ecclesiastical liberty, in a series of attacks upon episcopacy. These are written in a bitter spirit of abusive hostility, for which we seek an insufficient apology in his exclusive converse with a party which held bishops in abhorrence, and in the low personal respectability of a large portion of the episcopal bench.

At Whitsuntide, in the year 1645, having reached his 35th year, he married Mary Powel, a young lady of good extraction in the county of Oxford. One month after he allowed his wife to visit her family. This permission, in itself somewhat singular, the lady abused; for when summoned back to her home, she refused to return. Upon this provocation, Milton set himself seriously to consider the extent of the obligations imposed by the nuptial vow; and soon came to the conclusion, that in point of conscience it was not less dissoluble for hopeless incompatibility of temper than for positive adultery, and that human laws, in as far as they opposed this principle, called for reformation. These views he laid before the public in his *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*. In treating this question, he had relied entirely upon the force of argument, not aware that he had the countenance of any great authorities; but finding soon afterwards that some of the early reformers, Bucer and P. Martyr, had taken the same view as himself, he drew up an account of their comments on this subject. Hence arose the second of his tracts on Divorce. Meantime, as it was certain that many would abide by what they supposed to be the positive language of Scripture, in opposition to all authority whatsoever, he thought it advisable to write a third tract on the proper interpretation of the chief passages in Scripture, which refer to this point. A fourth tract, by way of answer to the different writers who had opposed his opinions, terminated the series.

Meantime the lady, whose rash conduct had provoked her husband into these speculations, saw reason to repent of her indiscretion, and finding that Milton held her desertion to have cancelled all claims upon his justice,

wisely resolved upon making her appeal to his generosity. This appeal was not made in vain : in a single interview at the house of a common friend, where she had contrived to surprise him, and suddenly to throw herself at his feet, he granted her a full forgiveness : and so little did he allow himself to remember her misconduct, or that of her family, in having countenanced her desertion, that soon afterwards, when they were involved in the general ruin of the Royal cause, he received the whole of them into his house, and exerted his political influence very freely in their behalf. Fully to appreciate this behaviour, we must recollect that Milton was not rich, and that no part of his wife's marriage-portion (1000*l.*) was ever paid to him.

His thoughts now settled upon the subject of education, which it must not be forgotten that he connected systematically with domestic liberty. In 1644 he published his essay on this great theme, in the form of a letter to his friend Hartlib, himself a person of no slight consideration. In the same year he wrote his '*Areopagitica*, a speech for the liberty of unlicensed printing.' This we are to consider in the light of an oral pleading, or regular oration, for he tells us expressly [Def. 2.] that he wrote it "*ad justæ orationis modum.*" It is the finest specimen extant of generous scorn. And very remarkable it is that Milton, who broke the ground on this great theme, has exhausted the arguments which bear upon it. He opened the subject : he closed it. And were there no other monument of his patriotism and genius, for this alone he would deserve to be held in perpetual veneration. In the following year, 1645, was published the first collection of his early poems ; with his sanction, undoubtedly, but probably not upon his suggestion. The times were too full of anxiety to allow of much encouragement to polite literature : at no period were there fewer readers of poetry. And for himself in particular, with the exception of a few sonnets, it is probable that he composed as little as others read, for the next ten years ; so great were his political exertions.

Early in 1649 the king was put to death. For a full view of the state of the parties which led to this memorable event, we must refer the reader to the history of the times. That act was done by the Independent party, to which Milton belonged, and was precipitated by the intrigues of the Presbyterians, who were making common cause with the king, to ensure the overthrow of the Independents. The lamentations and outcries of the Presbyterians were long and loud. Under colour of a generous sympathy with the unhappy prince, they mourned for their own political extinction, and the triumph of their enemies. This Milton well knew, and to expose the selfishness of their clamours, as well as to disarm their appeals to the popular feeling, he now published his 'Tenure of Kings and Magistrates.' In the first part of this, he addresses himself to the general question of tyrannicide, justifying it, first, by arguments of general reason, and secondly, by the authority of the reformers. But in the latter part he argues the case personally, contending that the Presbyterians at least were not entitled to condemn the king's death, who, in levying war, and doing battle against the king's person, had done so much that tended to no other result. "If then," is his argument, "in these proceedings against their king, they may not finish, by the usual course of justice, what they have begun, they could not lawfully begin at all." The argument seems inconclusive, even as addressed *ad hominem*: the struggle bore the character of a war between independent parties, rather than a judicial inquiry, and in war the life of a prisoner becomes sacred.

At this time the Council of State had resolved no longer to employ the language of a rival people in their international concerns, but to use the Latin tongue as a neutral and indifferent instrument. The office of Latin Secretary, therefore, was created, and bestowed upon Milton. His hours from henceforth must have been pretty well occupied by official labours. Yet at this time he undertook a service to the state, more invidious, and perhaps more perilous, than any in which

his politics ever involved him. On the very day of the king's execution, and even below the scaffold, had been sold the earliest copies of a work, admirably fitted to shake the new government, and for the sensation which it produced at the time, and the lasting controversy which it has engendered, one of the most remarkable known in literary history. This was the 'Eikon Basilike, or Royal Image,' professing to be a series of meditations drawn up by the late king, on the leading events from the very beginning of the national troubles. Appearing at this critical moment, and co-operating with the strong re-action of the public mind, already affected in the king's favour by his violent death, this book produced an impression absolutely unparalleled in any age. Fifty thousand copies, it is asserted, were sold within one year; and a posthumous power was thus given to the king's name by one little book, which exceeded, in alarm to his enemies, all that his armies could accomplish in his life-time. No remedy could meet the evil in degree. As the only one that seemed fitted to it in kind, Milton drew up a running commentary upon each separate head of the original; and as that had been entitled the king's image, he gave to his own the title of 'Eikonoclastes, or Image-breaker,' "the famous surname of many Greek emperors, who broke all superstitious images in pieces."

This work was drawn up with the usual polemic ability of Milton: but by its very plan and purpose, it threw him upon difficulties which no ability could meet. It had that inevitable disadvantage which belongs to all ministerial and secondary works: the order and choice of topics being all determined by the 'Eikon,' Milton, for the first time, wore an air of constraint and servility, following a leader and obeying his motions, as an engraver is controlled by the designer, or a translator by his original. It is plain, from the pains he took to exonerate himself from such a reproach, that he felt his task to be an invidious one. The majesty of grief, expressing itself with Christian meekness, and appealing, as it were from the grave, to the consciences of men,

could not be violated without a recoil of angry feeling, ruinous to the effect of any logic, or rhetoric the most persuasive. The affliction of a great prince, his solitude, his rigorous imprisonment, his constancy to some purposes which were not selfish, his dignity of demeanour in the midst of his heavy trials, and his truly Christian fortitude in his final sufferings—these formed a rhetoric which made its way to all hearts. Against such influences the eloquence of Greece would have been vain. The nation was spell-bound ; and a majority of its population neither could or would be disenchanted.

Milton was ere long called to plead the same great cause of liberty upon an ampler stage, and before a more equitable audience ; to plead not on behalf of his party against the Presbyterians and Royalists, but on behalf of his country against the insults of a hired Frenchman, and at the bar of the whole Christian world. Charles II. had resolved to state his father's case to all Europe. This was natural, for very few people on the continent knew what cause had brought his father to the block, or why he himself was a vagrant exile from his throne. For his advocate he selected Claudius Salmasius, and that was most injudicious. This man, eminent among the scholars of the day, had some brilliant accomplishments which were useless in such a service, while in those which were really indispensable he was singularly deficient. He was ignorant of the world, wanting in temper and self-command, conspicuously unfurnished with eloquence, or the accomplishments of a good writer, and not so much as master of a pure Latin style. Even as a scholar, he was very unequal : he had committed more important blunders than any man of his age, and, being generally hated, had been more frequently exposed than others to the harsh chastisements of men inferior to himself in learning. Yet the most remarkable deficiency of all which Salmasius betrayed, was in his entire ignorance, whether historical or constitutional, of everything which belonged to the case.

Having such an antagonist, inferior to him in all possible qualifications, whether of nature, of art, of situa-

tion, it may be supposed that Milton's triumph was absolute. He was now thoroughly indemnified for the poor success of his 'Eikonoclastes.' In that instance he had the mortification of knowing that all England read and wept over the king's book, whilst his own reply was scarcely heard of. But here the tables were turned: the very friends of Salmasius complained, that while his defence was rarely inquired after, the answer to it, 'Defensio pro Populo Anglicano,' was the subject of conversation from one end of Europe to the other. It was burnt publicly at Paris and Toulouse; and, by way of special annoyance to Salmasius, who lived in Holland, was translated into Dutch.

Salmasius died in 1653, before he could accomplish an answer that satisfied himself: and the fragment which he left behind him was not published, until it was no longer safe for Milton to rejoin. Meantime others pressed forward against Milton in the same controversy, of whom some were neglected; one was resigned to the pen of his nephew, Philips, and one answered diffusely by himself. This was Du Moulin, or, as Milton persisted in believing, Morus, a reformed minister then resident in Holland, and at one time a friend of Salmasius. For two years after the publication of this man's book ('Regii Sanguinis Clamor') Milton received multiplied assurances from Holland that Morus was its true author. This was not wonderful. Morus had corrected the press, had adopted the principles and passions of the book, and perhaps at first had not been displeased to find himself reputed the author. In reply, Milton published his 'Defensio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano,' seasoned in every page with some stinging allusions to Morus. All the circumstances of his early life are recalled, and some were such as the grave divine would willingly have concealed from the public eye. He endeavoured to avert too late the storm of wit and satire about to burst on him, by denying the work, and even revealing the author's real name: but Milton resolutely refused to make the slightest alteration. The true reason of this probably was that the work was written so exclusively against

Morus, full of personal scandal, and puns and gibes upon his name, which in Greek signifies foolish, that it would have been useless as an answer to any other person. In Milton's conduct on this occasion there is a want both of charity and candour. Personally, however, Morus had little ground for complaint: he had bearded the lion by submitting to be reputed the author of a work not his own. Morus replied, and Milton closed the controversy by a defence of himself, in 1665.

He had, indeed, about this time some domestic afflictions, which reminded him of the frail tenure on which all human blessings were held, and the necessity that he should now begin to concentrate his mind upon the great works which he meditated. In 1651 his first wife died, after she had given him three daughters. In that year he had already lost the use of one eye, and was warned by the physicians that if he persisted in his task of replying to Salmasius, he would probably lose the other. The warning was soon accomplished, according to the common account, in 1654; but upon collating his letter to Phalaris the Athenian, with his own pathetic statement in the *Defensio Secunda*, we are disposed to date it from 1652. In 1655 he resigned his office of secretary, in which he had latterly been obliged to use an assistant.

Some time before this period, he had married his second wife, Catherine Woodcock, to whom it is supposed that he was very tenderly attached. In 1657 she died in child-birth, together with her child, an event which he has recorded in a very beautiful sonnet. This loss, added to his blindness, must have made his home, for some years, desolate and comfortless. Distress, indeed, was now gathering rapidly upon him. The death of Cromwell, in the following year, and the imbecile character of his eldest son, held out an invitation to the aspiring intriguers of the day, which they were not slow to improve. It soon became too evident to Milton's discernment that all things were hurrying forward to restoration of the ejected family. Sensible of the risk, therefore, and without much hope, but obeying the summons of his conscience, he wrote a short tract on the ready and easy

way to establish a free commonwealth, concluding with these noble words: "Thus much I should perhaps have said, though I were sure I should have spoken only to trees and stones, and had none to cry to, but with the Prophet, Oh earth! earth! earth! to tell the very soil itself what her perverse inhabitants are deaf to. Nay, though what I have spoken should happen [which Thou suffer not, who didst create free, nor Thou next who didst redeem us from being servants of men] to be the last words of our expiring liberty." A slighter pamphlet on the same subject, 'Brief Notes' upon a sermon by one Dr. Griffiths, must be supposed to be written rather with a religious purpose of correcting a false application of sacred texts, than with any great expectation of benefiting his party. Dr. Johnson, with unseemly violence, says, that he kicked when he could strike no longer: more justly it might be said that he held up a solitary hand of protestation on behalf of that cause now in its expiring struggles, which he had maintained when prosperous; and that he continued to the last one uniform language, though he now believed resistance to be hopeless, and knew it to be full of peril.

That peril was soon realised. In the spring of 1660 the Restoration was accomplished amidst the tumultuous rejoicings of the people. It was certain that the vengeance of government would lose no time in marking its victims; for some of them in anticipation had already fled. Milton wisely withdrew from the first fury of the persecution which now descended on his party. He secreted himself in London, and when he returned into the public eye in the winter, found himself no farther punished than by a general disqualification for the public service, and the disgrace of a public burning inflicted on his *Eikonoclastes*, and his *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano*.

Apparently it was not long after this time that he married his third wife, Elizabeth Minshul, a lady of good family in Cheshire. In what year he began the composition of his 'Paradise Lost' is not certainly known: some have supposed in 1658. There is better ground

for fixing the period of its close. During the plague of 1665 he retired to Chalfont, and at that time Elwood the quaker read the poem in a finished state. The general interruption of business in London, occasioned by the plague, and prolonged by the great fire in 1666, explain why the publication was delayed for nearly two years. The contract with the publisher is dated April 26, 1667, and in the course of that year the 'Paradise Lost' was published. Originally it was printed in ten books: in the second and subsequent editions, the seventh and tenth books were each divided into two. Milton received only five pounds in the first instance on the publication of the book. His farther profits were regulated by the sale of the three first editions. Each was to consist of fifteen hundred copies, and on the second and third respectively reaching a sale of thirteen hundred, he was to receive a farther sum of five pounds for each; making a total of fifteen pounds. The receipt for the second sum of five pounds is dated April 26, 1669.

In 1670 Milton published his 'History of Britain,' from the fabulous period to the Norman Conquest. And in the same year he published in one volume 'Paradise Regained' and 'Samson Agonistes.' It has been currently asserted that Milton preferred the 'Paradise Regained' to 'Paradise Lost.' This is not true; but he may have been justly offended by the false principles on which some of his friends maintained a reasonable opinion. The 'Paradise Regained' is inferior by the necessity of its subject and design. In the 'Paradise Lost' Milton had a field properly adapted to a poet's purposes: a few hints in Scripture were expanded. Nothing was altered, nothing absolutely added: but that which was told in the Scriptures in sum, or in its last results, was developed into its whole succession of parts. Thus, for instance, "There was war in heaven," furnished the matter for a whole book. Now for the latter poem, which part of our Saviour's life was it best to select as that in which Paradise was Regained? He might have taken the Crucifixion, and here he had a much wider field than in the Temptation; but then he was subject to

this dilemma: if he modified, or in any way altered, the full details of the four Evangelists, he shocked the religious sense of all Christians; yet the purposes of a poet would often require that he should so modify them. With a fine sense of this difficulty, he chose the narrow basis of the Temptation in the Wilderness, because there the whole had been wrapt up in Scripture in a few brief abstractions. Thus, "He showed him all the kingdoms of the earth" is expanded, without offence to the nicest religious scruple, into that matchless succession of pictures, which bring before us the learned glories of Athens, Rome in her civil grandeur, and the barbaric splendour of Parthia. The actors being only two, the action of 'Paradise Regained' is unavoidably limited. But in respect of composition, it is perhaps more elaborately finished than 'Paradise Lost.'

In 1672 he published in Latin a new scheme of Logic, on the method of Ramus, in which Dr. Johnson suspects him to have meditated the very eccentric crime of rebellion against the universities. Be that as it may, this little book is in one view not without interest: all scholastic systems of logic confound logic and metaphysics; and some of Milton's metaphysical doctrines, as the present Bishop of Winchester has noticed, have a reference to the doctrines brought forward in his posthumous Theology. The history of the last-named work is remarkable. That such a treatise had existed was well known, but it had disappeared, and was supposed to be irrevocably lost. But in the year 1823 a Latin manuscript was discovered in the State-Paper Office, under circumstances which left little doubt of its being the identical work which Milton was known to have composed; and this belief was corroborated by internal evidence. By the king's command, it was edited by Mr. Sumner, the present Bishop of Winchester, and separately published in a translation. The title is '*De Doctrina Christiana, libri duo posthumi*'—A Treatise on Christian doctrine, compiled from the Holy Scriptures alone. In elegance of style, and sublimity of occasional passages, it is decidedly inferior to other of his prose works. As a system of

theology, probably no denomination of Christians would be inclined to bestow other than a very sparing praise upon it. Still it is well worth the notice of those students who are qualified to weigh the opinions, and profit by the errors of such a writer, as being composed with Milton's usual originality of thought and inquiry, and as being remarkable for the boldness with which he follows up his arguments to their legitimate conclusion, however startling those conclusions may be.

What he published after the scheme of logic is not important enough to merit a separate notice. His end was now approaching. In the summer of 1674 he was still cheerful, and in possession of his intellectual faculties. But the vigour of his bodily constitution had been silently giving way, through a long course of years, to the ravages of gout. It was at length thoroughly undermined; and about the 10th of November, 1674, he died with tranquillity so profound, that his attendants were unable to determine the exact moment of his decease. He was buried, with unusual marks of honour, in the chancel of St. Giles at Cripplegate.

The published lives of Milton are very numerous. Among the best and most copious are those prefixed to the editions of Milton's works by Bishop Newton, Todd, and Symmons. An article of considerable length, founded upon the latter, will be found in Rees's Cyclopædia. But the most remarkable is that written by Dr. Johnson in his 'Lives of the British Poets;' a production grievously disfigured by prejudice, yet well deserving the student's attention for its intrinsic merits, as well as for the celebrity which it has attained.

END OF VOL. VII.



THE
CABINET PORTRAIT GALLERY
OF
BRITISH WORTHIES.

VOLUME VIII.

L O N D O N :
CHARLES KNIGHT & CO., LUDGATE STREET.

1846.

CONTENTS.

	Page
SIR MATTHEW HALE	5
ANDREW MARVELL	19
ISAAC BARROW	51
THOMAS HOBBS	62
SAMUEL BUTLER	98
WILLIAM LORD RUSSELL	115

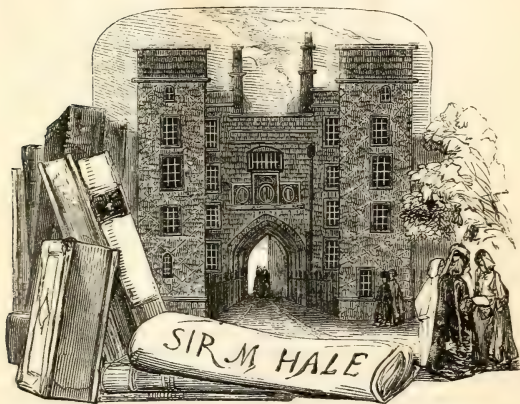


JOHN B. BAKER

CABINET PORTRAIT GALLERY

OF

BRITISH WORTHIES.



MATTHEW HALE was born on the 1st of November, 1609, at Alderley, a small village situated in Gloucestershire, about two miles from Wotton-under-Edge. His father, Robert Hale, was a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, and his mother, whose maiden name was Poyntz, belonged to an ancient and respectable family which had resided for several generations at Iron Acton. Hale's father is represented to have been a man of such scrupulous delicacy of conscience, that he abandoned his profession, because he thought that some things, of ordinary practice in the law, were inconsistent with

that literal and precise observance of truth which he conceived to be the duty of a Christian. "He gave over his practice," says Burnet, in his *Life of Hale*, "because he could not understand the reason of giving colour in pleadings, which, as he thought, was to tell a lie."

Hale had the misfortune to lose both his parents very early in life, his mother dying before he was three years old, and his father before he had attained his fifth year. Under the direction of his father's will he was committed to the care of a near relation, Anthony Kingscote, Esq., of Kingscote, in Gloucestershire. This gentleman, being inclined to the religious doctrines and discipline of the Puritans, placed him in a school belonging to that party; and, intending to educate him for a clergyman, entered him in 1626 at Magdalen Hall in Oxford. The strictness and formality of his early education seem to have inclined him to run into the opposite extreme at the university, when he became to a certain extent his own master. He is said to have been very fond at this time of theatrical amusements, and of fencing, and other martial exercises; and giving up the design of becoming a divine, he at one time determined to pass over into the Netherlands, and to enlist as a volunteer in the army of the Prince of Orange. An accidental circumstance diverted him from this resolution. He became involved in a lawsuit with a gentleman in Gloucestershire, who laid claim to part of his paternal estate; and his guardian, being a man of retired habits, was unwilling to undertake the task of personally superintending the proceedings on his behalf. It became necessary therefore that Hale, though then only twenty years old, should leave the university and repair to London for the purpose of arranging his defence. His professional adviser on this occasion was Serjeant Glanville, a learned and distinguished lawyer; who, being struck by the clearness of his young client's understanding, and by his peculiar aptitude of mind for the study of the law, prevailed upon him to abandon his military project, and to enter himself at one of the Inns of Court

with the view of being called to the bar. He accordingly became a member of the society of Lincoln's Inn in Michaelmas term 1629, and immediately applied himself with unusual assiduity to professional studies. At this period of his life, he is said to have read for several years at the rate of sixteen hours a day.

During his residence as a student in Lincoln's Inn, an incident occurred which recalled a certain seriousness of demeanour, for which he had been remarkable as a boy, and gave birth to that profound piety which in after-life was a marked feature in his character. Being engaged with several other young students at a tavern in the neighbourhood of London, one of his companions drank to such excess that he fell suddenly from his chair in a kind of fit, and for some time seemed to be dead. After assisting the rest of the party to restore the young man to his senses, in which they at length succeeded, though he still remained in a state of great danger, Hale, who was deeply impressed with the circumstance, retired into another room, and falling upon his knees prayed earnestly to God that his friend's life might be spared ; and solemnly vowed that he would never again be a party to similar excess, nor encourage intemperance by drinking a health again as long as he lived. His companion recovered, and to the end of life Hale scrupulously kept his vow. This was afterwards a source of much inconvenience to him, when the reign of licentiousness commenced, upon the restoration of Charles II. ; and drinking the King's health to intoxication was considered as one of the tests of loyalty in politics, and of orthodoxy in religion.

His rapid proficiency in legal studies not only justified and confirmed the good opinion which had been formed of him by his early friend and patron, Serjeant Glanville, but also introduced him to the favourable notice of several of the most distinguished lawyers of that day. Noy, the Attorney-General, who some years afterwards devised the odious scheme of ship-money, and who, while he is called by Lord Clarendon "a morose and proud man," is also represented by him as an "able and learned

lawyer," took particular notice of Hale, and advised and assisted him in his studies. At this time also he became intimate with Selden, who, though much older than himself, honoured him with his patronage and friendship. He was induced by the advice and example of this great man to extend his reading beyond the contracted sphere of his professional studies, to enlarge and strengthen his reasoning powers by philosophical inquiries, and to store his mind with a variety of general knowledge. The variety of his pursuits at this period of life was remarkable: anatomy, physiology, and divinity formed part only of his extensive course of reading; and by his subsequent writings it is made manifest that his knowledge of these subjects was by no means superficial.

The exact period at which Hale was called to the bar is not given by any of his biographers; and in consequence of the non-arrangement of the earlier records at Lincoln's Inn, it cannot be readily ascertained. It is probable, however, that he commenced the actual practice of his profession about the year 1636. It is plain that he very soon attained considerable reputation in it, from his having been employed in most of the celebrated trials arising out of the troubles consequent on the meeting of parliament in 1640. His prudence and political moderation, together with his great legal and constitutional knowledge, pointed him out as a valuable advocate for such of the court party as were brought to public trial. Bishop Burnet says that he was assigned as counsel for Lord Strafford, in 1640. This does not appear from the reports of that trial, nor it is on record that he was expressly assigned as Strafford's counsel by the House of Lords: but he may have been privately retained by that nobleman to assist in preparing his defence. In 1643, however, he was expressly appointed by both Houses of Parliament as counsel for Archbishop Laud: and the argument of Mr. Herne, the senior counsel, an elaborate and lucid piece of legal reasoning, is said, but on no certain authority, to have been drawn up by Hale. In 1647 he was appointed one of the counsel for the Eleven members: and he is said to have been afterwards

retained for the defence of Charles I. in the High Court of Justice; but as the King refused to own the jurisdiction of the tribunal, his counsel took no public part in the proceedings. He was also retained after the King's death by the Duke of Hamilton, when brought to trial for treason, in taking up arms against the parliament. Burnet mentions other instances, but these are enough to prove his high reputation for fidelity and courage, as well as learning.

In the year 1643 Hale took the Covenant as prescribed by the parliament, and appeared more than once with other laymen in the assembly of divines. In 1651 he took the "Engagement to be faithful and true to the Commonwealth without a King and House of Lords," which, as Mr. Justice Foster observes, "in the sense of those who imposed it, was plainly an engagement for abolishing kingly government, or at least for supporting the abolition of it." In consequence of his compliance in this respect, he was allowed to practise at the bar, and was shortly afterwards appointed a member of the commission for considering of the reformation of the law. The precise part taken by Hale in the deliberations of that body cannot now be ascertained; and indeed there are no records of the mode in which they conducted their inquiries, and, with a few exceptions, no details of the specific measures of reform introduced by them. A comparison, however, of the machinery of courts of justice during the reign of Charles I., and their practice and general conduct during the Commonwealth, and immediately after the Restoration, will afford convincing proofs that, during the interregnum improvements of great importance were effected,—improvements which must have been devised, matured, and carried into execution by minds of no common wisdom, devoted to the subject with extraordinary industry and reflection.

It was unquestionably with the view of restoring a respect for the administration of justice, which had been wholly lost during the reign of Charles I., and giving popularity and moral strength to his own government, that Cromwell determined to place such men as Hale

on the benches of the different courts. Hale, however, had at first many scruples concerning the propriety of acting under a commission from an usurper; and it was not without much hesitation, that he at length yielded to the importunity of Cromwell, and the urgent advice and entreaties of his friends; who, thinking it no small security to the nation to have a man of his integrity and high character on the bench, spared no pains to satisfy his conscientious scruples. He was made a serjeant, and raised to the bench of the Court of Common Pleas in January, 1653-4.

Soon after he became a judge he was returned to Cromwell's first parliament of five months, as one of the knights of the shire for the county of Gloucester; but he does not appear to have taken a very active part in the proceedings of that assembly. Burnet says that "he, with a great many others, came to parliaments, more out of a design to hinder mischief than to do much good." On one occasion, however, he did a service to his country, for which all subsequent generations have reason to be grateful, by opposing the proposition of a party of frantic enthusiasts to destroy the records in the Tower and other depositories, as remnants of feudality and barbarism. Hale displayed the folly, injustice, and mischief of this proposition with such authority and clearness of argument, that he carried the opinions of all reasonable members with him; and in the end those who had introduced the measure were well satisfied to withdraw it. That his political opinions at this time were not republican, is evident from a motion introduced by him, that the legislative authority should be affirmed to be in the parliament, and an individual with powers limited by the parliament; but that the military power should for the present remain with the Protector. He had no seat in the second parliament of the Protectorate, called in 1656; but when a new parliament was summoned upon the death of Cromwell, in January, 1658-9, he represented the University of Oxford.

His judicial conduct, during the Commonwealth, is represented by contemporaries of all parties as scrupu-

lously just, and nobly independent. Several instances are related of his resolute refusal to submit the free administration of the law to the arbitrary dictation of the Protector. On one occasion of this kind, which occurred on the circuit, a jury had been packed by express directions from Cromwell. Hale discharged the jury on discovering this circumstance, and refused to try the cause. When he returned to London, the Protector severely reprimanded him, telling him that "he was not fit to be a judge;" to which Hale only replied that "it was very true."

It appears that at this period, he, in common with several other judges, had strong objections to being employed by Cromwell as commissioners on the trial of persons taken in open resistance to his authority. After the suppression of the feeble and ineffectual rebellion in 1655, in which the unfortunate Colonel Penruddock, with many other gentlemen of rank and distinction, appeared in arms for the King, in the western counties, a special commission issued for the trial of the offenders at Exeter, in which Hale's name was inserted. He happened to be spending the Lent vacation at his house at Alderley, to which place an express was sent to require his attendance; but he plainly refused to go, excusing himself on the ground that four terms and two circuits in the year were a sufficient devotion of his time to his judicial duties, and that the intervals were already too small for the arrangement of his private affairs; "but," says Burnet, "if he had been urged to it, he would not have been afraid of speaking more clearly."

He continued to occupy his place as a judge of the Common Pleas until the death of the Protector; but when a new commission from Richard Cromwell was offered to him, he declined to receive it; and, though strongly urged by other judges, as well as his personal friends, to accept the office on patriotic grounds, he firmly adhered to his first resolution, saying that "he could act no longer under such authority."

In the year 1660 Hale was again returned by his native county of Gloucester to serve in the Parliament,

or Convention, by which Charles II. was recalled. On the discussion of the means by which this event should be brought about, Hale proposed that a committee should be appointed to look into the propositions and concessions offered by Charles I. during the war, particularly at the treaty of Newport, from whence they might form reasonable conditions to be sent over to the king. The motion was successfully opposed by Monk, who urged the danger which might arise, in the present state of the army and the nation, if any delay should occur in the immediate settlement of the government. "This," says Burnet, "was echoed with such a shout over the house, that the motion was no longer insisted on." It can hardly be doubted that most of the destructive errors of the reign of Charles II. would have been spared, if express restrictions had been imposed upon him before he was permitted to assume the reins of government. On the other hand, it has been justly said, that the time was critical; that at that precise moment, the army and the nation, equally weary of the scenes of confusion and misrule which had succeeded to Richard Cromwell's abdication, agreed upon the proposed scheme; but that if delay had been interposed, and if debates had arisen in parliament, the dormant spirit of party would in all probability have been awakened, the opportunity would have been lost, and the Restoration might after all have been prevented. These arguments, when urged by Monk to those who were suffering under a pressing evil, and had only a prospective and contingent danger before them, were plausible and convincing; but to those in after times who have marked the actual consequences of recalling the king without expressly limiting and defining his authority, as displayed in the miserable and disgraceful events of his "wicked, turbulent, and sanguinary reign," and in the necessary occurrence of another revolution within thirty years from the Restoration, it will probably appear that our ancestors paid rather too dearly on that occasion for the advantages of an immediate settlement of the nation.

Immediately after the restoration of the king in May,

1660, Lord Clarendon, being appointed Lord Chancellor, sought to give strength and stability to the new government, by carefully providing for the due administration of justice. With this view, he placed men distinguished for their learning and high judicial character upon the benches of the different courts. Amongst other eminent lawyers, who had forsaken their profession during the latter period of the Commonwealth, he determined to recall Hale from his retirement, and offered him the appointment of Lord Chief Baron. But it was not without great difficulty that Hale was induced to return to the labours of public life. A curious original paper, containing his "reasons why he desired to be spared from any place of public employment," was published some years ago by Mr. Hargrave, in the preface to his collection of law tracts. Amongst these reasons, which were stated with the characteristic simplicity of this great man, he urged "the smallness of his estate, being not above 500*l.* per annum, six children unprovided for, and a debt of 1000*l.* lying upon him; that he was not so well able to endure travel and pains as formerly; that his constitution of body required some ease and relaxation; and that he had of late time declined the study of the law, and principally applied himself to other studies, now more easy, grateful, and seasonable for him." He alludes also to two "infirmities, which make him unfit for that employment, first, an aversion to the pomp and grandeur necessarily incident to it; and secondly, too much pity, clemency, and tenderness in cases of life, which might prove an unserviceable temper." "But if," he concludes, "after all this, there must be a necessity of undertaking an employment, I desire that it may be in such a court and way as may be most suitable to my course of studies and education, and that it may be the lowest place that may be, to avoid envy. One of his Majesty's counsel in ordinary, or at most, the place of a puisne judge in the Common Pleas would suit me best." His scrupasi. were, however, eventually overcome, and on the 7th of November, 1660, he accepted the appointment of Lord Chief Baron; Lord Clarendon saying, as

he delivered his commission to him, that "if the King could have found an honester and fitter man for that employment he would not have advanced him to it; and that he had therefore preferred him, because he knew no other who deserved it so well." Shortly afterwards he reluctantly received the honour of knighthood.

The trials of the regicides took place in the October immediately preceding his appointment, and his name appears among the commissioners on that occasion. There is however no reason to suppose that he was actually present; his name is not mentioned in any of the reports, either as interfering in the proceedings themselves, or assisting at the previous consultations of the judges; and it can hardly be doubted but that, if he had taken a part in the trials, he would have been included with Sir Orlando Bridgman and several others in the bitter remarks made by Ludlow on their conduct in this respect. It has been the invariable practice from very early times to the present day, to include the twelve judges in all commissions of Oyer and Terminer for London and Middlesex; and as, at the time of the trials in question, only eight judges had been appointed, it is probable that Hale and the other three judges elect were named in the commission, though their patents were not made out till the following term, in order to preserve as nearly as possible the ancient form.

Sir Matthew Hale held the office of Lord Chief Baron till the year 1671, and during that period greatly raised the character of the court in which he presided, by his unwearied patience and industry, the mildness of his manners, and the inflexible integrity of his judicial conduct. His impartiality in deciding cases in the Exchequer where the interests of the Crown were concerned, is admitted even by Roger North, who elsewhere charges him with holding "demagogical principles," and with the "foible of leaning towards the popular." "I have heard Lord Guildford say," says this agreeable but partial writer, "that while Hale was Chief Baron of the Exchequer, by means of his great learning, even against his inclination, he did the Crown more justice in that

court, than any others in his place had done with all their good-will and less knowledge."

Whilst he was Chief Baron he was called upon to preside at the trial of two unhappy women who were indicted at the assizes at Bury St. Edmunds, in the year 1665, for the crime of witchcraft. The Chief Baron is reported to have told the jury that "he made no doubt at all that there were such creatures as witches," and the women were found guilty and afterwards executed. The conduct of Hale on this occasion has been the subject of much sarcastic animadversion. It might be said in reply, that the report of the case in the State Trials is of no authority whatever; but supposing it to be accurate, it would be unjust and unreasonable to impute to Sir Matthew Hale as personal superstition or prejudice, a mere participation in the prevailing and almost universal belief of the times in which he lived. The majority of his contemporaries, even among persons of education and refinement, were firm believers in witchcraft; and though Lord Guildford rejected this belief, Roger North admits that he dared not to avow his infidelity in this respect in public, as it would have exposed him to the imputation of irreligion. Numerous instances might be given to show the general prevalence at that time of this stupid and ignorant superstition; and therefore the opinion of Hale on this subject does not appear to be a proof of peculiar weakness or credulity.

On the occurrence of the great fire of London in 1666, an act of parliament passed containing directions and arrangements for rebuilding the city. By a clause in this statute, the judges were authorised to sit singly to decide on the amount of compensation due to persons whose premises were taken by the corporation in furtherance of the intended improvements. Sir Matthew Hale applied himself with his usual diligence and patience to the discharge of this laborious and extra-judicial duty. "He was," says Baxter, "the great instrument for rebuilding London; for it was he that was the constant judge, who for nothing followed the work, and by his prudence and justice removed a multitude of great impediments."

In the year 1671, upon the death of Sir John Kelyng, Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, Sir Matthew Hale was removed from the Exchequer to succeed him. The particular circumstances which caused his elevation to this laborious and responsible situation at a time when his growing infirmities induced him to seek a total retirement from public life, are not recorded by any of his biographers. For four years after he became Chief Justice he regularly attended to the duties of his court, and his name appears in all the reported cases in the Court of King's Bench, until the close of the year 1675. About that time he was attacked by an inflammation of the diaphragm, a painful and languishing disease, from which he constantly predicted that he should not recover. It produced so entire a prostration of strength, that he was unable to walk up Westminster Hall to his court without being supported by his servants. "He resolved," says Baxter, "that the place should not be a burden to him, nor he to it," and therefore made an earnest application to the Lord Keeper Finch for his dismissal. This being delayed for some time, and finding himself totally unequal to the toil of business, he at length, in February 1676, tendered the surrender of his patent personally to the King, who received it graciously and kindly, and promised to continue his pension during his life.

On his retirement from office, he occupied at first a house at Acton, which he had taken from Richard Baxter, who says "it was one of the meanest houses he had ever lived in: in that house," he adds, "he lived contentedly, without any pomp, and without costly or troublesome retinue of visitors, but not without charity to the poor; he continueth the study of mathematics and physics still as his great delight. It is not the least of my pleasure that I have lived some years in his more than ordinary love and friendship, and that we are now waiting which shall be first in heaven; whither he saith he is going with full content and acquiescence in the will of a gracious God, and doubts not but we shall shortly live together." Not long before his death he

removed from Acton to his own house at Alderley, intending to die there; and having a few days before gone to the parish churchyard and chosen his grave, he sunk under a united attack of asthma and dropsy, on Christmas-day, 1676.

The judicial character of Sir Matthew Hale was without reproach. His profound knowledge of the law rendered him an object of universal respect to the profession; whilst his patience, conciliatory manners, and rigid impartiality engaged the good opinion of all classes of men. As a proof of this, it is said that as he successively removed from the Court of Common Pleas to the Exchequer, and from thence to the King's Bench, the mass of business always followed him; so that the court in which he presided was constantly the favourite one with counsel, attorneys, and parties. Perhaps indeed no judge has ever been so generally and unobjectionably popular. His address was copious and impressive, but at times slow and embarrassed: Baxter says "he was a man of no quick utterance, and often hesitant; but spake with great reason." This account of his mode of speaking is confirmed by Roger North, who adds, however, that "his stop for a word by the produce always paid for the delay; and on some occasions he would utter sentences heroic." His reputation as a legal and constitutional writer is in no degree inferior to his character as a judge. From the time it was published to the present day, his history of the Pleas of the Crown has always been considered as a book of the highest authority, and is referred to in courts of justice with as great confidence and respect as the formal records of judicial opinions. His Treatises on the Jurisdiction of the Lords' House of Parliament, and on Maritime Law, which were first published by Mr. Hargrave, more than a century after Sir Matthew Hale's death, are works of first-rate excellence as legal arguments, and are invaluable as repositories of the learning of centuries, which the industry and research of the author had collected.

After his retirement from public life, he wrote his great work called 'The primitive Origination of Man-

kind, considered and examined according to the light of Nature.' Various opinions have been formed upon the merits of this treatise. Roger North depreciates the substance of the book, but commends its style ; while Bishop Burnet and Dr. Birch greatly praise its learning and force of reasoning.

Sir Matthew Hale was twice married. By his first wife, who was a daughter of Sir Henry Moore, of Fawley in Berkshire, he had ten children, most of whom turned out ill. His second wife, according to Roger North, was "his own servant-maid;" and Baxter says, "some made it a scandal, but his wisdom chose it for his convenience, that in his age he married a woman of no estate, to be to him as a nurse." Hale gives her a high character in his will, as "a most dutiful, faithful, and loving wife," making her one of his executors, and intrusting her with the education of his grand-children. He bequeathed his collection of manuscripts, which he says had cost him much industry and expense, to the Society of Lincoln's Inn, in whose library they are carefully preserved.

The published biographies of Hale are extremely imperfect, none of them containing a particular account of his personal history and character. Bishop Burnet's *Life* is the most generally known, and, though far too panegyrical and partial, is perhaps the most complete ; it has been closely followed by most of his subsequent biographers. In Baxter's *Appendix to the Life of Hale*, and in his account of his own *Life*, the reader will find some interesting details respecting his domestic and personal habits ; and Roger North's *Life of Lord Guildford* contains many amusing, though ill-natured and sarcastic anecdotes of this admirable judge.





A FEW beautiful verses, an acquaintanceship with the immortal Milton, and a traditional reputation for great political honesty in a most corrupt age, have given Marvell a permanent and honourable place among the worthies of his country. His public life was never illustrated by any great or very conspicuous deed, and of his private life very little, with any certainty, is known. Yet is his name familiar to every Englishman that loves his country and his country's literature, and that reveres the associations of genius.

Andrew Marvell was born in the city of Hull, on the 15th of November, 1620 ; towards the close of the reign of James I., when religious and political differences already announced the convulsion which took place under Charles I., twenty years later. His father was Andrew Marvell, a native of Cambridge, and M. A. of Emanuel College, then a recent foundation, and strongly imbued with Puritanism. Having taken orders, this Andrew,

the father, was elected Master of the Grammar School at Hull ; which place he occupied when his son was born. Some four years after the birth of young Andrew, he became lecturer of Trinity Church, Hull. He was reputed both a learned and pious man. His puritanism did not sour his temper or extinguish his wit or humour. Echard the historian calls him "the facetious Calvinistical minister of Hull." The son inherited this facetious humour. Fuller, the wittiest of divines, thus records some of the virtues of the elder Marvell :—"He was a most excellent preacher, who, like a good husband, never broached what he had new-brewed, but preached what he had studied some competent time before : insomuch that he was wont to say that he would cross the common proverb, which called Saturday the working-day, and Monday the holiday of preachers."* Like his son, he was a man of courage and fortitude, and was not to be driven from his duty by any sense of danger. In the year 1637, when the plague was desolating Hull, and when all who could fled into the country, the worthy lecturer of Trinity church remained in the town, and scrupulously and zealously performed all his clerical duties, as if there had been no pest, or peril of any kind.

This high-minded father probably educated his promising boy himself, for no school is named as having been honoured by the boy that was destined to be the companion and friend of the author of 'Paradise Lost,' and the advocate of honesty and patriotism at the period when they were all but lost. Whoever instructed young Andrew, the boy must have been well taught. At the early age of fifteen, he was admitted of Trinity College, Cambridge, with an exhibition belonging to Hull, his native place. Here his progress on learning is said to have been very rapid. But he had not been long up at Cambridge, ere he was dazzled and ensnared by some Jesuits, who, in disguise, haunted the University, and applied themselves more especially to the conversion or perversion of inexperienced, ingenuous youths. As An-

* Worthies.

drew Marvell's best biographer remarks,* these Romanists pretended a zeal for civil liberty, a scorn of the assumed divine right of kings, and a respect for the doctrine of the lawfulness of popular resistance to the kingly power whenever that power was abused. They had other esoteric doctrines of a sort highly captivating to generous and enthusiastic dispositions; and their learning, their general refinement of taste and of personal manners, rendered them the most prevailing of missionaries among the educated classes, the most formidable of propagandists. Like Chillingworth, and others of riper years, the youthful Andrew Marvell was induced by these disciples of Loyola to quit his college and follow them up to London. But the boy was not long hoodwinked. "His excellent father pursued him to the metropolis and restored him to sanity and his studies."† On the 13th of December, 1638, as appears from his own hand-writing, Master Andrew was again received at Trinity College. It appears that he steadily pursued his studies, until the autumn or winter of 1640, when the sudden and most unexpected loss of his father again withdrew him from Cambridge. The narrations—for there are more than one, and they slightly differ—of the circumstances attending the catastrophe of "the facetious Calvinistical minister of Hull," embalm his memory, and give a beauty to his sudden death. The most received account runs thus—"On that shore of the Humber opposite Kingston,‡ lived a lady whose virtue and good sense recommended her to the esteem of Mr. Marvell, as his piety and understanding caused her to take particular notice of him. From this mutual approbation arose an intimate acquaintance, which was soon improved into a strict friendship. This lady had an only daughter, whose duty, devotion, and

* Hartley Coleridge.—"Biographia Borealis, or Lives of Distinguished Northerns."—Leeds and London, 1833.

† Hartley Coleridge.

‡ The old, full name of Hull, where the elder Marvell resided, was "Kingston-upon-Hull." For brevity it was frequently called Kingston, in those days.

exemplary behaviour had endeared her to all who knew her, and rendered her the darling of her mother, whose fondness for her arose to such a height that she could scarcely bear her temporary absence. Mr. Marvell, desiring to perpetuate the friendship between the families, requested the lady to allow her daughter to come over to Kingston, to stand godmother to a child of his; to which, out of her great regard for him, she consented, though depriving herself of her daughter's company for a longer space of time than she would have agreed to on any other consideration. The young lady went over to Kingston accordingly, and the ceremony was performed. The next day, when she came down to the river side, in order to return home, it being extremely rough, so as to render the passage dangerous, the watermen earnestly dissuaded her from any attempt to cross the river that day. But she, who had never wilfully given her mother a moment's uneasiness, and knowing how miserable she would be, insisted on going, notwithstanding all that could be urged by the watermen, or by Mr. Marvell, who earnestly entreated her to return to his house, and wait for better weather. Finding her resolutely bent to venture her life rather than to disappoint a fond parent, he told her, as she had brought herself into that perilous situation on *his* account, he thought himself obliged, both in honour and conscience, to share the danger with her; and having, with difficulty, persuaded some watermen to attempt the passage, they got into the boat. Just as they put off, Mr. Marvell threw his gold-headed cane on shore, to some of his friends, who attended at the water-side, telling them, that as he could not suffer the young lady to go alone, and as he apprehended the consequence might be fatal, if he perished he desired them to give that cane to his son, and bid him remember his father. Thus armed with innocence, and his fair charge with filial duty, they set forward to meet their inevitable fate. The boat was upset, and they were both lost."

According to another version there was no dissuasion of watermen, and no rough weather to cause it, or create

any alarm ; the winds were hushed, and the waters of the estuary as smooth as glass, when the good man and gentle maid took boat ;—

“The air was calm, and on the level brine
Sleek Panope with all her sisters played ;”

yet, nevertheless, he had a mysterious presentiment of his fate, and, as he stepped into the boat, he exclaimed—“Ho for Heaven!” and throwing his staff ashore, as a memorial to his friends, left it to Providence to fulfil the awful warning he had received.

When the elder Marvell was drowned in the Humber, he was in the fifty-fourth year of his age. He was lamented by his friends, and by the people of Hull in general, who had long witnessed his virtues, and, who inclined, like himself, to the more puritanical part of the Church. Many years after his decease, his son Andrew wrote of him :—“He died before the War broke out, having lived with some reputation both for piety and learning ; and was, moreover, a conformist to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, *though, I confess, none of the most overrunning or eager in them.*” When the old lady, whose daughter had perished, recovered from her first agony of grief, she called young Andrew Marvell to her from Cambridge ; and afterwards she behaved to him as a fond mother, and at her death she bequeathed him her whole fortune. Whether after this visit to his native place he returned to Cambridge or not, is rather uncertain. If he returned, he could not have stayed long. Within a year after the time of his father’s watery exit from this world, he, with four other young men, was conditionally expelled from Trinity College. The offences of all the five are lumped together, and do not involve any serious moral dereliction. As Andrew Marvell never had a wife, we may pretty safely assume that the charge of being married was not levelled at him. In the Conclusion Book of the college, under date of the 24th of September 1641 appears the following entry :—

“It is agreed by the Masters and Seniors, that Mr. Carter, Dominus Wakefield, Dominus Marvell, Dominus Waterhouse, and Dominus Maye, in regard that some of them are reported to be married, and the others look not after their days nor acts, shall receive no more benefit of the College, and shall be out of their places, unless they show just cause to the College for the contrary, in three months.”

There was another of the expelled five, besides Andrew Marvell, who afterwards attained to distinction: the Dominus Maye of the Conclusion Book was Thomas Maye, who translated Lucan, and wrote a spirited history of the Long Parliament and the greater part of the War between Charles I. and the Parliamentarians. Neither Marvell nor Maye ever gave the explanation or made the submission required of them by the authorities of Trinity College. As all men were agitated by the momentous political questions of the day, and as the great struggle, called by Clarendon “The Great Rebellion,” had, in a manner, begun some months before the date of the entry in the Conclusion Book, it might very well be supposed that two ardent young men like Maye and Marvell had been kept away from their *Alma Mater* by a desire to watch events, or even to take an active part on the side of the Parliamentarians. Yet, a short time after his expulsion from Trinity College, we find Andrew Marvell quietly travelling on the continent.

He went through France into Italy. At Rome, where he resided some considerable time, he became the intimate associate of John Milton. It is believed that it was at Rome they first met. Milton had quitted Cambridge before Marvell went up to the university, leaving behind him a brilliant reputation and the young mulberry-tree he had planted in the garden of his college, (Christ’s,) where the time-honoured tree still flourishes. Two such minds could scarcely have met in a more fit place than the Eternal City. “Not even in the proudest days of her republic,” says Hartley Coleridge, “had Rome to boast two nobler youths than Milton and Marvell! . . . D’Israeli has written a book upon the

‘Quarrels of Authors;’ why does not he, or somebody else, write one about the ‘Friendships of Authors?’ *Why is it that the little good that has been on earth has never found an historian?* Whether Marvell ever went the full length of Milton’s opinions in church and state, is not very evident; probably not, for he seems to have been a much more cautious man.” The friendship, however, first contracted in the midst of the grand ruins and grander recollections of ancient Rome, and in youth and health, lasted till old age and death; it was interrupted by no difference of political or religious opinion; and when Milton—immeasurably the greater man of the two—fell upon “evil tongues and evil days,” when the “drop serene” had quenched his sight, and when his triumphant foes threatened him with imprisonment, chains, exile, or death, it was the happiness, the honour, the glory—the imperishable glory—of Andrew Marvell to shield him from his enemies and alleviate his many sufferings.

Marvell returned to England between 1642 and 1643. While at Paris, on his way homeward, he exercised his satirical wit and his scholarship on a certain French abbé, hight Lancelot Joseph de Maniban, who pretended to judge of men’s characters, dispositions, and present and future fortunes merely by inspecting their handwriting. Marvell lashed the abbé in a Latin poem.

When he reached his native country, the civil war was raging in nearly all parts of it. What did he during the stern contest which lasted six years? It appears that the question cannot be answered, and that there is hardly any information extant respecting Marvell from his return in 1642 until the year 1652, except that, towards the latter part of that interval of ten years, he resided with my Lord General Fairfax, and was there “intrusted to give some instructions in the languages to the lady his daughter.” This last and very interesting fact is derived from a letter addressed by Milton to President Bradshaw, and dated the 21st of February, 1652. The object of this letter was to obtain a state employment for Marvell. Milton, who was at this time

Latin secretary, and *quasi* secretary of State for foreign affairs to Oliver Cromwell, was oppressed by an enormous quantity of work and afflicted by a rapid decay of his sight: he wanted an assistant; and he could think of none more worthy of confidence, or more competent to the duties of the office, than his accomplished friend Andrew Marvell. He told President Bradshaw that his friend had spent altogether four years abroad, "in Holland, France, Italy, and Spain, to very good purpose;" that he knew the languages of those four countries, and "was besides a scholar, and well read in the Latin and Greek authors." "If," continues Milton, in this same letter to President Bradshaw, "upon the death of Mr. Weckherlyn, the Council should think that I shall need any assistance in the performance of my place (though for my part I find no encumbrances of that which belongs to me, except it be in point of attendance at conferences with ambassadors, which I must confess, in my condition, I am not fit for), it would be hard for them to find a man so fit every way for that purpose as this gentleman; one who, I believe, in a short time, would be able to do them as much service as *Mr. Ascan*. This, my Lord, I write sincerely, without any other end than to perform my duty to the public in helping them to an humble servant; laying aside those jealousies and that emulation which mine own condition might suggest to me by bringing in such a coadjutor."

This warm application failed. In the summer of the following year, 1653, Marvell, who had taught languages to my Lord General Fairfax's daughter, was appointed by Cromwell to take charge of the education of his nephew, a young Mr. Dutton. It has been said of a letter which honest Andrew wrote to the "magnanimous usurper," shortly after getting this appointment, that it is "rather more respectful than would please either a Royalist or a determined Republican;"* but Marvell was never either a decided Royalist or a determined Republican; he, apparently, never indulged in

* H. Coleridge.

abstract political speculation ; his mind, on that side, being wholly of a practical, ready-working kind ; he would have loved a free constitutional monarchy if any such could have been established, and if *Church* had been separated from *State* ; but, as matters stood, after the terrible intestine war, he, in common with some of the honestest hearts and brightest intellects that ever did honour to this land, rallied round the almost kingly Protector as the only barrier to mad, intolerant fanaticism, anarchy, and dead-levelling, on the one side ; and to the unconditional restoration of a vicious and faithless prince, and of a tyrannical church supremacy, on the other. Marvell's sober nature could not be intoxicated by the effusions of an orator and enthusiastic Republican like Sir Harry Vane ; still less could his eyes be dazzled by the visions of ordinary Fifth-monarchy men, who would have no king or ruler but King Jesus, and who would divide the whole world and the fulness thereof, in mathematically-equal portions, among the saints—*i. e.* among themselves. He knew that the English people were not—and were not likely soon to become—fit for Republican institutions ; of war and its horrors he had seen enough ; he dreaded a renewal of the war, he dreaded anarchy, he dreaded an unconditional restoration ; and therefore he clung to the Protector, whose entire ecclesiastical polity, however unseemly and odious to others, conciliated his respect and admiration ; and this son of the Low-Church lecturer of Hull seems always to have dreaded the “*Prelates' rage*” more than the tyranny of kings or of any other lay-rulers. But a greater man than Andrew Marvell, and one quite as honest, might, without any moral abasement or sacrifice of principle, have written the respectful letter he wrote to the great Cromwell. If the pupil was such as the tutor describes him,—and we have no good reason to doubt that he was not, as, generally, the kith and kin of Oliver were eminent for their virtues if not for their acquirements—there is not a word of flattery in it. We will quote the epistle, which is otherwise interesting, and the reader will judge for himself :—

“ May it please your Excellence,

“ It might perhaps seem fit for me to seek out words to give your Excellence thanks for myself. But, indeed, the only civility which it is proper for me to practise with so eminent a person, is to obey you, and to perform honestly the work that you have set me about. Therefore I shall use the time that your Lordship is pleased to allow me for writing, only for that purpose for which you have given me it; that is, to render you an account of Mr. Dutton. I have taken care to examine him several times in the presence of Mr. Oxenbridge; as those who weigh and tell over money before some witness ere they take charge of it; for I thought that there might be possibly some lightness in the coin, or error in the telling, which hereafter I should be bound to make good. Therefore, Mr. Oxenbridge is the best to make your Excellency an impartial relation thereof: I shall only say, that I shall strive according to my best understanding (that is, according to those rules your Lordship hath given me) to increase whatsoever talents he may have already. Truly, he is of gentle and *waxen* disposition; and, God be praised, I cannot say he hath brought with him any evil impression; and I shall hope to set nothing into his spirit but what may be of a good sculpture. He hath in him two things that make youth most easy to be managed,—modesty, which is the bridle to vice; and emulation, which is the spur to virtue. And the care which your Excellence is pleased to take of him is no small encouragement, and shall be so represented to him; but, above all, I shall labour to make him sensible of his duty to God; for then we begin to serve faithfully, when we consider he is our master. And in this, both he and I owe infinitely to your Lordship, for having placed us in so godly a family as that of Mr. Oxenbridge, whose doctrine and example are like a book and a map, not only instructing the ear, but demonstrating to the eye, which way we ought to travel; and Mrs. Oxenbridge has looked so well to him, that he hath already much mended his complexion; and now she is ordering his chamber that he may delight to be in it as often as his studies require. For the rest, most of this time hath been spent in acquainting ourselves with him; and truly he is cheerful, and I hope thinks us to be good company. I shall, upon occasion, henceforward inform your Excellence of any particularities in our little affairs, for so I esteem it to be my duty. I have no more at present but to give thanks

to God for your Lordship, and to beg grace of him that I may approve myself,

Your Excellency's
Most humble and faithful servant,
ANDREW MARVELL."

Windsor, July 28th, 1653.

"Mr. Dutton presents his most humble service to your Excellence."

In 1654, when Milton brought out his '*Defensio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano*,' he commissioned Marvell to present a copy of it to the Protector. In a letter, dated Eton, the 2nd of June, 1654, and addressed, 'For my most honoured friend, John Milton, Esq., Secretary for Foreign Affairs, at his house in Petty France, Westminster,' Marvell gave an account of his interview with Cromwell, and complimented the great poet on his complete victory over Salmasius and Morus. Together with the book, he had handed the Protector a letter from the author of it. The following passage helps one to judge of the character of Cromwell, and of the pains Milton at this time took to serve his friend Marvell.—"But my lord read not the letter while I was with him; which I attributed to our despatch, and some other business tending thereto, which I therefore wished ill to, so far as it hindered an affair much better, and of greater importance—I mean that of reading your letter. And to tell you truly mine own imagination, I thought that he would not open it while I was there, because he might suspect that I, delivering it just upon my departure, might have brought in it some second proposition, like to that which you had before made to him, by your letter to my advantage. However, I assure myself that he has since read it with much satisfaction." Towards the close of this epistle to Milton, Marvell shows the kindness of his nature, by expressing the "affectionate curiosity" he had to know what was becoming of the business of his old acquaintance Colonel Overton, who, after being parliamentary governor of Hull, had incurred trouble by taking up the doctrines, and imitating the turbulent practices, of the Fifth-Monarchy men.

In 1657 Marvell was appointed assistant Latin secretary to Milton, a post for which he was admirably qualified, but which he did not occupy many months. The Protector died in September, 1658; when it became evident that the system of government he had created could not long survive him. What part Andrew Marvell took in the conflict of parties under the weak but amiable Richard Cromwell is not recorded; but we may safely assume that he was transported neither with the frenzy and despair of the Republicans, nor by the mad joy and utter recklessness of the Royalists; but that, seeing the inevitableness of the return of Charles II., he was only desirous of some securities for civil and religious liberty. Early in 1660 he was elected by his native town of Hull to that Parliament which voted the restoration of Royalty.* The Houses met on the 25th of April, and then Marvell made his first public appearance as a statesman. But for the patriotism and forethought of a few men like himself, and the jealousies and fears of the Presbyterian leaders, this parliament, which gave far too much, would have denied absolutely nothing that the king or his courtiers could have asked. We have no reports of Marvell's parliamentary speeches; but when he had been a few months in the House he began to correspond regularly with his constituents; and from these letters may be gathered what was his conduct, and what were his opinions on the great state questions of that most critical time, when the vast majority of the nation seemed anxious to make a renunciation of liberty. Marvell's parliamentary conduct was cautious, circumspect, calm, and persevering. For a long time his aim and hope was rather to prevent or diminish evil than to do good. He always considered things practically, never theoretically or speculatively, or angrily, except, perhaps, the one question of church government, with the re-establishment of epis-

* He had been elected by his townsmen in the short parliament of 1658-9, during the brief Protectorate of Richard Cromwell; but this parliament had been so suddenly upset to make room for the old Rump, that Marvell and many others never took their seats in it.

copacy. The great Protector being gone, Marvell could be no Cromwellite ; and so far was he from being a disappointed, soured, and intolerant Republican, that in the earlier of his letters to his Hull friends, he spoke respectfully, and even favourably, of Charles II. and the rest of the restored royal family. Of the execution of the king's unhappy father he had sung in the Cromwellian days, and in an ode addressed to Cromwell himself—

While round the armed bands
 Did clasp their bloody hands,
 He nothing common did, or mean,
 Upon the memorable scene ;
 But with his keener eye,
 The axe's edge did trye,
 Nor call'd the Gods, with vulgar spight,
 To vindicate his helpless right :
 But bow'd his comely head
 Down, as upon a bed.

Marvell, too, is said to have written a most pathetic letter, in prose, on the execution of King Charles. It seems, therefore, quite certain that he did not sympathise with the anti-monarchical prejudices of Milton, and that he could have lived not only tranquilly but happily under the government of Charles II. if he had not found it rapidly degenerating into a despotism, and a source and centre of national demoralization. For some few years, though unable to give it his full approbation and confidence, Marvell did live happily under this government, and found pleasure in serving it. And this, his moderation of political temper being well known, enabled him to serve his friend Milton at the hour of need. The fanatic Royalists would have excepted the great poet out of the Bill of Indemnity, but Andrew Marvell, uniting with Sir William Davenant, Sir Thomas Clarges, Mr. Secretary Morrice, and other friends of literature prevented this useless piece of vengeance and barbarity. True, Marvell had held office under Cromwell as well as Milton ; but it was not for his having been Latin secretary to the Protector, but for his having written the *Eiconoclastes* and the two *Defences* of the trial and execu-

tion of Charles I., that Milton was so obnoxious to the Royalists. Marvell, on the contrary, though he had been tutor to Cromwell's nephew, and under-secretary to Milton, had shed tears over the Whitehall tragedy, and had given in a few verses the most graceful, pathetic, yet noble picture of that royal execution: Marvell, therefore, may very well be supposed to have possessed some influence at court at the time when the Bill of Indemnity was being voted; and he certainly enjoyed favour and influence at court about three years after this period when he was appointed to accompany an embassy. Marvell, to use again the words of Mr. Coleridge, "seems to have entertained hopes of a just and equal government, a true and comprehensive amnesty of all past offences between prince and subject, between all sects and parties, between each man and his neighbour Andrew was never so much absorbed by politics as to forget business. He paid sedulous attention to the interests of his borough, and to each of his constituents, and watched narrowly the progress of private bills." The good people of Hull rewarded him and his partner or colleague in parliament, with presents of right good ale. These casks seem to have come up rather frequently. On one occasion he writes to his constituents in his own name and in that of his colleague—"We are now both met together, and shall strive to do you the best service we are able. We must first give you thanks for the kind present you have pleased to send us, which will give us occasion to remember you often; but the quantity is so great that it might make sober men forgetful." The Convention or *healing* Parliament was dissolved in December, 1660. Marvell was re-elected by the burgesses of Hull without opposition. He thus acknowledges his election, which had passed without his appearing on the hustings, or even leaving London:—"I perceive you have again made choice of me, now the third time, to serve you in parliament; which, as I cannot attribute to anything but your constancy, so, God willing, as in gratitude obliged, with no less constancy and vigour, I shall continue to execute your commands, and study your ser-

vice." The temper of the New Parliament, which met on the 8th of May, 1661, was much less moderate than that of the Convention which had restored the king; and much of the business which came before this Parliament, as the Bill of Conformity, the restoration of the Bishops to their seats in the House of Lords, &c., &c., was highly distasteful to Marvell, who, at one time, absented himself from the House of Commons for so long a period, that his townsmen were called upon to fill up his place. In June, 1663, he was appointed to accompany Lord Carlisle on an embassy to Russia, Sweden, and Denmark. He then told the corporation of Hull, that it was no new thing for members of the House of Commons to be dispensed with, for the service of the king and the nation, in foreign parts; that his constituents might be sure he would not stir without special leave of the House, so that they might be freed from any possibility of being importuned or tempted to make any other choice in his absence. And, a short time after, as he was on the point of embarking at Gravesend, he addressed another letter to the corporation of Hull, recommending them to be patient and peaceable, and to put good trust in his colleague, Colonel Gilby, who would remain at his post. "I undertake this voyage," said he, in the same letter, "with the order and good liking of his majesty, and by leave given me from the House, and entered on the journal; and having received, moreover, your approbation, I go, therefore, with more ease and satisfaction of mind, and augurate to myself the happier success in all my proceedings." Nothing further is recorded of his northern tour, which could not have been otherwise than interesting: none of his notes or letters relating to his travels have been preserved.

Marvell returned to his duties as member of the House of Commons in the summer of 1665, when, on account of the plague which was raging in London and Westminster, parliament was sitting at Oxford. Little that had been done in England, during his absence, by the king and government, or done or said in parliament, was of a sort that he could either have praised or pre-

vented; nor did the aspect of affairs at all improve after his return. The Great Fire of London succeeded to the plague; the war with the Dutch, into which Charles had rushed to please Louis XIV., who pensioned him, was miserably conducted; and, while our fleets were laid up in ordinary that the king, his extravagant mistresses, and dissolute courtiers might spend in revelry the money which parliament voted for the war, the Dutch fleet destroyed our men-of-war at Chatham, menaced London itself, and rode, for whole weeks, in triumph in the estuary of the Thames. At the same time legislative encroachments were made upon liberty by a majority in parliament, which was far more eager to enslave the nation than the indolent king was to have it enslaved. But, in the very worst of times, an intelligent and thoroughly honest representative of the people, provided he do not despair of his country, and of himself, may always do some little good, or prevent some evil by remaining at his post and showing that he is there. This, Andrew Marvell now did, although it is evident from his own cautious correspondence, that there were seasons when he was all but overcome with disgust and despair. On one occasion he writes—"Parliament was never so embarrassed beyond recovery! *We are all venal cowards except some few.*" It is to be lamented that this parliamentary correspondence, which extends uninterruptedly over the years 1667, 1668, 1669, 1670, should afford so very few private details: many of the letters are valuable in an historical light, but hardly any of them have a biographical or auto-biographical interest.

Marvell seems rather to have joined in, than to have disapproved of, the prosecution of Lord Chancellor Clarendon, whose offences, though urged on to his ruin by far worse men, and incomparably more dishonest statesmen than himself, were rather serious in character and in amount. Marvell continued to vote honestly, if not always wisely, and to receive the grateful acknowledgments of his constituents, in the shape of annual casks of good ale. In political economy, he does not appear to have been one step in advance of his time; but no

man could go beyond him in attending to the interests of trade as they were then understood, or in forwarding the views of the merchants of Hull, or in watching over the affairs of his constituents generally. In this way nothing seems to have been too minute for his attention.

Busy as he was in parliament he found time to devote to friendship and to poetry. In the year 1667, "a great epoch in the history of the human mind,"* because Milton then first gave to the world his 'Paradise Lost,' Marvell took up his pen to serve his friend, writing some English couplets, which were inserted among the commendatory verses prefixed, as usual, to the epic. To a lover of literary history these commendatory verses, which come thick upon us in most old books, are very interesting, even though the quality of the rhyme should not be first-rate. But Andrew Marvell's couplets on the first appearance of 'Paradise Lost' offer many good lines. He thus judiciously calls the public attention to Milton's blindness, and to the sublimity and awfulness of his subject :—

When I beheld the poet blind yet bold,
In slender book his vast design unfold,
Messiah crown'd, God's reconcil'd decree,
Rebelling angels, the forbidden tree,
Heav'n, hell, earth, chaos, all ; the argument
Held me a while misdoubting his intent,
That he would ruin (for I saw him strong)
The sacred truths to fable and old song ;
So Sampson grop'd the temple's posts in spite,
The world o'erwhelming to revenge his sight.

He thus defends the great poet's preference of blank verse to rhyme.

Well might'st thou scorn thy readers to allure
With tinkling rhyme, of thy own sense secure ;
While the *Town-Bayes* writes all the while and spells,
And, like a pack-horse, tires without his bells.
Their fancies like our bushy points appear :
The poets tag them ; we for fashion wear.

* Hartley Coleridge.

I, too, transported by the mode, commend,
And while I meant to praise thee, must offend.
Thy verse, created like thy theme sublime,
In number, weight, and measure, needs not rhyme.

About five years after the appearance of 'Paradise Lost,' Marvell again stood forth as the champion of Milton. One Doctor Samuel Parker, who had gone through most of the changes in politics and religion, having been royalist, republican, fifth-monarchy man, conventicler, and now royalist and high-churchman over again, published, in 1670, in a book called 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' the most violent invectives against Nonconformists and Commonwealth-men like Milton, against all who favoured and protected them, and against every approach to liberty of conscience. In speaking of the different sects Parker laid it down as golden rules for King Charles, that to show tenderness and indulgence to such men, "was to nourish vipers in his bowels,"—that princes might, "with less hazard, give liberty to men's vices, than to their consciences." Doctor Owen replied to Parker in his 'Liberty and Truth vindicated.' Parker made rejoinder next year, in 'A Defence and Continuation of Ecclesiastical Polity,' against Doctor Owen; and in 1672 renewed the attack in a preface to a posthumous work of Bishop Bramhall. In this preface Parker affected to pour not only abuse, but also contempt, upon the whole body of his old companions, the Nonconformists. Of Milton he spoke in a manner calculated to hound all the enemies of the poet upon him, and to put him again in extreme danger. Marvell instantly took up the pen; and soon there came forth, to the amusement of court and town, his first brilliant prose satire, entitled '*The Rehearsal Transposed; or, Animadversions on a late Book entitled a Preface, showing what Grounds and Apprehensions there are of Popery. London: printed by A. B., for the Assignees of John Calvin and Theodore Beza, at the Sign of the King's Indulgence, on the south Side of the Lake Lemane, 1672.*' This production over-ran with wit and irony; while here and there the writer's wrath was as majestic as that

of Juvenal. Of the invention of printing he writes with this finished irony :—"The press (that villainous engine), invented much about the same time with the Reformation, hath done more mischief to the discipline of our church than the doctrine can make amends for. It was a happy time when all learning was in manuscript, and some little officer, like our author, did keep the keys of the library. When the clergy needed no more knowledge than to read the liturgy, and the laity no more clerkship than to save them from hanging. But now, since printing came into the world, such is the mischief, that a man cannot write a book, but presently he is answered. Could the press but at once be conjured to obey only an *imprimatur*, our author might not disdain, perhaps, to be one of its most zealous patrons. There have been ways found out to banish ministers, to fine not only the people, but even the grounds and fields where they assembled in conventicles; but no art yet could prevent these seditious meetings of letters. Two or three brawny fellows in a corner, with mere ink and elbow-grease, do more harm than a hundred systematical divines, with their sweaty preaching. And, what is a strange thing, the very sponges, which one would think should rather deface and blot out the whole book, and were anciently used for that purpose, are become now the instruments to make them legible. Their ugly printing letters look but like so many rotten teeth-drawers; and yet these rascally operators of the press have got a trick to fasten them again in a few minutes, that they grow as firm a set, and as biting and talkative as ever. O, printing! how hast thou disturbed the peace of mankind!—that *lead when moulded into bullets is not so mortal as when formed into letters!* There was a mistake, sure, in the story of Cadmus; and the serpent's teeth which he sowed were nothing else but the letters which he invented."

Besides much more wit of the same kind, there is in the 'Rehearsal Transposed' much solemn and most energetic writing—Marvell pleads for toleration in language which seems inspired. Parker, as deficient in

modesty as in wit, attempted a reply, under the title of "A Reproof of the 'Rehearsal Transposed,' with a mild Exhortation to the Magistrate, to crush with the Secular Arm, the pestilent Wit, the Servant of Cromwell, and the Friend of Milton." But this turn-coat politician and unmannerly polemic, who very probably knew that Charles II., whose keen relish for wit of all kinds has passed into a proverb, had declared Marvell to be the best prose satirist of the age, much doubted whether the vengeance of the secular arm could be made to fall upon his adversary, and therefore had recourse to other threats. An anonymous epistle, "short as a blunderbuss," was pitched into honest Andrew's very humble lodging. No doubt it was written by or for the Doctor, and thus was it worded:—"If thou darest to print any lie or libel against Dr. Parker, by the eternal God I will cut thy throat." The pestilent wit, Marvell, adopted the words as a motto, and printed them on the title-page of his 'Second Part of the Rehearsal Transposed,' which was published in 1673. However dull and obtuse he may have been to the sense of shame, this second pamphlet must have brought some blushes to the cheek of Parker. Milton, though blind, poor, and otherwise afflicted, was still alive, and it was easy for his witty friend to expose the monstrosity of attempting to make still more wretched the last hours of such a man. Marvell also exposed, in his happiest manner, the baseness and interested changeableness of the poet's assailant, telling the world how Parker, in former times, used to pride himself on the friendship of Milton, much frequenting his house in Moorfields, and there predicting to Marvell himself the speedy death of Charles II. and the consequent restoration of the Commonwealth and the Cromwellian order of things.

"J. M.," says Andrew, "was, and is, a man of as great learning and sharpness of wit as any man. It was his misfortune, living in a tumultuous time, to be tossed on the wrong side, and he writ, *flagrante bello*, certain dangerous treatises of no other nature than that which I mentioned to you writ by your own father, only with this difference,

that your father's, which I have by me, was written with the same design, but with much less wit or judgment. At his Majesty's happy return, J. M. did partake, even as you yourself did, of his royal clemency, and has ever since lived in a most retired silence. It was after that, I well remember it, that being one day at his house, I there first met you accidentally. But there it was when you, as I told you, wandered up and down Moorfields, astrologising on the duration of his Majesty's government, that you frequented J. M. incessantly, and haunted his house day by day. What discourses you there used he is too generous to remember."

Marvell's generous and tender care of the author of 'Paradise Lost,' began with his troubles at the Restoration, and never ceased until the poet's death. Edward Phillips, the nephew of Milton, states that "Marvell, with other friends, frequently visited the poet when secreted on account of the threats of Government."

In the tyrannous temper of the times it was necessary to use caution, not only in writings destined for the press, but even in private letters, the privacy of which was but too often invaded. Before this time, however, Marvell had given up the good hopes he once entertained of the restored monarch; and the vices of the court and the corruption of nearly all public men had converted him into an habitual political satirist. He frequently used the medium of verse, but prose was more natural to him. His first prose satire, 'Letter to a Friend in Persia,' appears to have been written in 1671, though not published until some years after. The following extract from it, which contains not a word that is not more than borne out by other historical evidence, may convince the reader that there was enough of guilt, and shame, and national dishonour, to sour the temper of any amiable man who loved his country:—

"The King having, upon pretence of the great preparations of his neighbours, demanded 300,000*l.* for his navy (though in conclusion he hath not sent out any), and that the Parliament should pay his debts, which the ministers would never particularise to the House of

Commons, our house gave several bills. You see how far things were stretched beyond reason, there being no satisfaction how those debts were contracted, and all men foreseeing that what was given would not be applied to discharge the debts, which I hear are at this day risen to four millions. Nevertheless, such was the number of the constant courtiers, increased by the apostate patriots, who were bought off for that turn, some at six, others at ten, one at fifteen thousand pounds, in money ; besides which, offices, lands, and reversions to others, that it is a mercy they gave not away the whole land and liberty of England. The Duke of Buckingham is again 140,000*l.* in debt, and, by this prorogation, his creditors have time to tear all his lands in pieces. The House of Commons have run almost to the end of their time, and are grown extremely chargeable to the king, and odious to the people. They have signed and sealed 10,000*l.* a-year more to the Duchess of Cleveland, who has likewise near 10,000*l.* out of the excise of beer and ale ; 5,000*l.* a-year out of the post-office ; and, they say, the reversion of all the king's leases, the reversion of all places in the Custom-house, and, indeed, what not ? All promotions, spiritual and temporal, pass under her cognizance."

It was seldom that Andrew Marvell could make common cause with a bishop : he had imbibed from his father, a decided low-church man, a dislike of the hierarchy ; and the general conduct of the restored king's bench of bishops was certainly not calculated to conciliate him : yet, on one occasion, he found a prelate into whose views he could heartily enter. In 1675, Dr. Herbert Croft, bishop of Hereford, published a short treatise, entitled 'The naked Truth, or the true State of the Primitive Church. By an humble Moderator.' In this work, the worthy bishop demonstrated the danger of imposing more upon men's consciences than is necessary, and proceeded through all the great points then in dispute between the Church of England and the Dissenters ; labouring throughout to prove, that Protestants differ in nothing truly essential to religion ; and that, for the sake of union, compliances would be more becoming and

effectual than in enforcing uniformity by penalties and persecution. The whole was written with great plainness and piety, as well as with much force of argument and learning. It was assailed with fury by several of the high-church party; but no one was so vituperative as Dr. Francis Turner, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, a very fashionable but very shallow and affected divine. To Turner's pamphlet, called 'Animadversions on the naked Truth,' Marvell replied with great vivacity in a brochure, entitled 'Mr. Smirke, or the Divine in Mode.' A part of honest Andrew's wit lay in a peculiarly happy knack of calling names, or in appropriating a ludicrous character in some popular comedy, and dubbing his adversary with it. In this spirit, he ridiculed Dr. Turner, by giving him the name of a chaplain in Etherege's comedy of 'The Man of Mode,' and thus, by the mere application of a name, conveyed the idea which he wished to convey, of 'a neat, starched, formal, and forward divine.*' In the same way, he had taken the name or character of Bayes out of Buckingham's 'Rehearsal,' and had applied it to his older adversary, Dr. Parker. But in combating for the wisely tolerant bishop of Hereford, Marvell did a good deal more than bestow a nick-name. He dwelt eloquently upon the great principles which that prelate had ventured to promulgate in his modest essay.

"It is a treatise," said he, "which, if not for its opposer, needs no commendation; being writ with that evidence and demonstration of truth, that all sober men cannot but give their assent and consent to it unasked. It is a book of that kind, that no Christian can peruse it without wishing himself to have been the author, and almost imagining that he is so: the conceptions therein being of so eternal idea, that every man finds it to be but a copy of the original in his own mind."

The bishop entered into a friendly correspondence with

* The Life of Andrew Marvell, the celebrated Patriot with Extracts and Selections from his Prose and Poetical Works, by John Dove. London, 1832.

his ardent admirer ; and Marvell shortly afterwards produced his ' Historical Essay concerning general Councils, Creeds, and Impositions in Matters of Religion,' which is a continuation or extension of his defence of the bishop's ' Naked Truth.' This historical essay has many truly admirable passages ; but we can afford room only for one, in which Andrew expresses his hope of more charitable days, and his readiness to die for a holy cause.

" I trust in the Almighty, that with us contentions are now at the highest float, and that the day will come (for what cause is there of despair ?) when the possessions of former enmity being allayed, men shall with ten times redoubled tokens of unfeignedly reconciled love, show themselves each to other the same which Joseph and the brethren of Joseph were at the time of their interview in Egypt. And upon this condition, let my book also (yea, myself, if it were needful) be burnt by the hands of those enemies to the peace and tranquillity of the religion of England."

Besides the works already enumerated, Marvell, who wrote more as the times grew worse and parliament more and more corrupt, published many other essays, of which some were entirely upon the politics of the day, and, for his own safety's sake, strictly anonymous. In 1676 he put forth ' A seasonable Question and an useful Answer between a Parliament Man in Cornwall and a Bencher in the Temple ;' and shortly after appeared, ' A seasonable Argument to the Grand Juries of England to petition for a new Parliament, or a List of the principal Labourers in the Design of Popery and arbitrary Power who have betrayed their Country.' He gave an admirable parody on the opening speeches which Charles II. was wont to deliver to parliament—a piece of satire which hit more ways than one. The last work of Marvell's, published before his death, was, ' An Account of the Growth of Popery and arbitrary Government in England.' It was printed in 1678, the year made memorable in history by the production of the so-called Popish Plot ; and it was reprinted in the State Trials soon after the Revolution of 1688. In this work the

principles of our constitution, or rather what ought to be its principles (for our constitution was not practically established until after the expulsion of the Stuarts), are clearly laid down; the legal authority of the kings of England is nicely ascertained and defined; and the glory of the monarch, and the happiness of the people, are proved equally to depend upon a veneration of the laws, and a strict observance of their respective obligations. He gives the consoling proof that the constitutional monarch of a free country may, and indeed must be, more glorious and far more happy than the absolute monarch of an enslaved people. He says, in his happiest manner—

“The kings of England are in nothing inferior to other princes, save in being more abridged from injuring their own subjects; but have as large a field as any, of external felicity, wherein to exercise their own virtue, and to reward and encourage it in others. In short, there is nothing that comes nearer the divine perfection than where the monarch, as with us, enjoys a capacity of doing all the good imaginable to mankind, under a disability to do all that is evil.”

He likewise drew a striking contrast of the miseries of a nation living under a degrading Popish administration, and the blessings enjoyed under a liberal Protestant government. The king, or the ministers of the day, were so irritated that a large reward was offered for the discovery to one of the secretaries of state of the printer, publisher, author, or hander to the press of either of those two libels—‘An Account of the Growth of Popery,’ &c., and ‘A seasonable Argument to the Grand Juries,’ &c.; and the better to encourage informers, a promise was given that their names should be kept secret.* We gather from a private letter which Marvell wrote to a friend on the 10th of June, 1678, that still larger rewards were offered in private, that he was shrewdly suspected by government to be the author, and that his

* Extract from the Gazette, as given in ‘Life of Marvell’ by John Dove.

mind was not at all disturbed by this suspicion, or by the danger to which it exposed him. To his friend, who was probably in the secret, he says pleasantly—"Three or four books, printed since, have described, as near as it was proper to go, the man, Mr. Marvell, a member of parliament, as the author; but if he were, surely he would not have escaped being questioned in parliament, or some other place."

No prosecution was attempted; but Marvell had now rendered himself so obnoxious to the heir-presumptive, James Duke of York, and his bigoted party; to the king's mistresses; and to others who united the greatest dissoluteness of life to a devotion to the Roman Church, that he was beset on all sides by powerful enemies, who threatened to beat and maim him (as they had done by others), if not to take his very life. It is said that in his latter days he could not venture into the streets by night; that he was obliged to conceal himself in obscure lodgings, and to change his abode frequently. Yet, within a few weeks of his death, he attended a public court in the Town Hall of Hull; for, in the books there kept, is the following entry:—"This day (29th July, 1678), the court being met, Andrew Marvell, esquire, one of the burgesses of parliament for this borough, came into court, and several discourses were held about the town affairs."

He returned to London, and, with scarcely any previous illness, or visible decay of constitution, died there on the 16th of August. From the suddenness of his death some of the enemies of the court surmised that he had been poisoned; and the dark suspicion has been kept alive by biographers and warm political writers. There appears, however, to be no foundation for it; and without very strong presumptive evidence, such foul reports, which were once so common that hardly any prince or public man would have been supposed to die a natural death, ought surely to be discarded.

As soon as the death of Marvell was known in his native town, which he had so long and so faithfully represented in parliament, the Corporation of Hull assembled

in Common Hall and unanimously voted fifty pounds towards defraying the expenses of his funeral; and in the year 1688, when the Revolution gave them liberty to express their sentiments, the inhabitants of Hull subscribed a sum of money for the purpose of raising a monument to his memory in the church of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, London, where his remains were interred. The epitaph was written, and the monument prepared; but the majority of the clergy of the Established Church were already dissatisfied with the revolution they had helped to make, and were in no humour to honour an enemy to the divine right of kings, a friend to the Dissenters, and a thorough Whig like Marvell; and the rector of St. Giles's would not suffer the monument to be placed in his church. Yet was the epitaph far from being offensive, or obnoxious to any prejudice: it was a manly composition; it praised the wit, learning, judgment, virtuous life, incorruptible honesty, and courageous patriotism of the man, without saying one word of his opinions in church matters. The citizens of Hull ought to place the inscription on a golden tablet in their Town Hall.

Honest Andrew was in his fifty-eighth year when he died. Aubrey, who was personally acquainted with him, says, "He was of a middling stature, pretty strong set, roundish faced, cherry-cheeked, hazel eyed, brown haired. In his conversation he was modest, and of very few words. He was wont to say, he would not drink high or freely with any one with whom he would not trust his life." From other authorities we learn that he was always very temperate and of a healthful constitution to the last; that he was altogether a handsome man with an expressive countenance; very strong and very active; of a reserved disposition among strangers, but easy, lively, facetious, and instructive with his friends. There is an original portrait of him in the British Museum presented by his grand-nephew, Mr. Nettleton; and a copy of his picture adorns the Council Chamber of the Trinity House at Hull, together with a very bombastical and indiscreet inscription, wherein it is confidently asserted that he fell

a victim to the jesuitical machinations of the state ; “ for what vice and bribery could not influence was perpetrated by poison.”

It appears probable that the patriot's poverty has been somewhat exaggerated. As the son of a poor school-master and clergyman, who had other children, it is not likely that he inherited anything from his father except his principles and virtuous example ; but the good old lady who lived “ on that shore of the Humber opposite to Kingston,” and whose daughter perished with the worthy lecturer of Trinity Church, appears to have been at least in easy circumstances, and whatever she had at her death she bequeathed to Master Andrew. Moreover, the old custom of members of parliament receiving a stipend from their constituents, was not, as yet, altogether obsolete ; and it should seem that Andrew occasionally received other things from Hull than casks of good ale. Mr. Hartley Coleridge remarks, “ It has been said, that Marvell was the last member that received wages from his constituents. Others, however, his contemporaries, maintained the right, and suffered their arrears to accumulate, as a cheap resource at the next election. More than once in the course of Marvell's correspondence, he speaks of members threatening to sue their boroughs for their pay.” The good people of Hull could scarcely have made a better use of their superfluous cash than in sending a little of it to their honest and indefatigable representative. No doubt Andrew Marvell was but a poor man compared with the majority of those who sat in Parliament with him, and whose palms were ever open for money from France, or from Holland, or from the ministry ; but such evidence as we have to this point seems to establish the fact that he was never reduced to any serious straits or pecuniary difficulties : he had neither the pleasures nor the expenses of a family, for he was never married ; and with his contented cheerful nature, he was the man to—

“ Say in his heart (what poets do but sing),
That a glad poverty 's an honest thing.”*

* William Stewart Rose, Epistle to John Hookham Frere.

His mode of living was simple and frugal, but not sordid. His company was long sought by the great as well as the witty. In spite of his politics he was admitted into the company of Charles II., before that merry monarch turned the despot that he was in the latter part of his reign. Prince Rupert, whose pride and impetuosity had been moderated by time and a severe experience, and who concluded a life which had been begun in war and blood, in the quiet pursuits of experimental philosophy and of the fine arts, was Marvell's frequent visitant. So much was this the case, that when Rupert dissented from any court measure, it was usual for the courtiers to say that he had been with his tutor Marvell. No doubt can be entertained that efforts were made to corrupt the patriot, and that all these efforts failed. The dramatic example commonly cited may be incorrect in detail, and there seems to be no contemporary authority for it; but it neatly embodies the traditionary reputation for integrity which Marvell left behind him, and, indisputably, the essence of it is a truth.

"At all events," says Mr. Coleridge, "a Life of Andrew Marvell would be as imperfect without it as a History of King Alfred without the neat-herd's cottage and the burnt cakes." It is related with various circumstances, but we shall follow the narrative of a pamphlet printed in Ireland, A. D. 1754:—"The borough of Hull, in the reign of Charles II., chose Andrew Marvell, a young gentleman of little or no fortune, and maintained him in London for the service of the public. His understanding, integrity, and spirit, were dreadful to the then infamous administration. Persuaded that he would be theirs for properly asking, they sent his old school-fellow, the lord treasurer Danby, to renew acquaintance with him in his garret. At parting, the lord treasurer, out of pure affection, slipped into his hand an order upon the Treasury for 1000*l.*, and then went to his chariot. Marvell, looking at the paper, calls after the treasurer, 'My Lord, I request another moment.' They went up again to the garret, and Jack, the servant boy, was called. 'Jack, child, what had I for dinner yesterday?'

‘Don’t you remember, Sir? you had the little shoulder of mutton that you ordered me to bring from a woman in the market.’ ‘Very right, child. What have I for dinner to-day?’ ‘Don’t you know, Sir, that you bid me lay by the blade-bone to broil.’ ‘’T is so; very right, child, go away.’ ‘My lord, do you hear that? Andrew Marvell’s dinner is provided; there is your piece of paper. I want it not. I know the sort of kindness you intended. I live here to serve my constituents: the ministry may seek men for their purpose; I am not one.’ ”

Although his poetry is inferior to his prose, and only a few of his verses are of transcendant grace and beauty, Marvell can have been excluded from an honourable post among our minor poets only by political prejudice and a want of taste and feeling. Nearly all the poems which can be proved to be his were juvenile productions. We quote one of them which, though well known, has not been so universally read as it deserves to be.

THE EMIGRANTS.

Where the remote Bermudas ride
In th’ ocean’s bosom unesp’y’d;
From a small boat that row’d along
The list’ning winds receiv’d this song.

“ What should we do but sing his praise,
That led us through the wat’ry maze,
Unto an isle so long unknown,
And yet far kinder than our own.
Where He the huge sea-monsters racks,
That lift the deep upon their backs;
He lands us on a grassy stage,
Safe from the sotrms, and prelates’ rage.
He gave us this eternal spring,
Which here enamels every thing;
And sends the fowls to us in care,
On daily visits through the air.
He hangs in shades the orange bright,
Like golden lamps in a green night;

And does in the pomegranates close
Jewels more rich than Ormus shows.
He makes the figs our mouths to meet,
And throws the melons at our feet ;
But apples plants of such a price,
No tree could ever bear them twice.
With cedars chosen by his hand,
From Lebanon, He stores the land.
And makes the hollow seas, that roar,
Proclaim the ambergrease on shore.
He cast (of which we rather boast)
The Gospel's pearl upon our coast,
And in these rocks for us did frame
A temple, where to sound his name.
Oh ! let our voice his praise exalt,
'Till it arrive at heav'n's vault ;
Which thence, perhaps, rebounding, may
Echo beyond the Mexique bay."

Thus sung they in the English boat,
An holy and a cheerful note ;
And all the way, to guide their chime,
With falling oars they kept the time.

Among the satirical poems attributed to him, there are some so flat and dull and so offensively coarse, that we cannot for our lives believe that they were ever written by the friend and bosom companion of Milton. Marvell, as we have said, put forth a good many of his productions anonymously. On the title-page of other pieces he placed some fictitious fanciful name, which other writers of the day, according to a prevalent practice, may have assumed after him for their frouzy trash. He has been very unfortunate in his editor, Captain Edward Thompson, who collected and published his works in 1776, in three vols. 4to. This captain, who wrote the bombastical inscription for the portrait, to which we have alluded, had much zeal and reverence for his author, but no taste, no critical discrimination, nor any other qualification for the task he undertook. He challenges for Marvell the authorship of two very sweet poems which were written long after Marvell's time, the one by Addi-

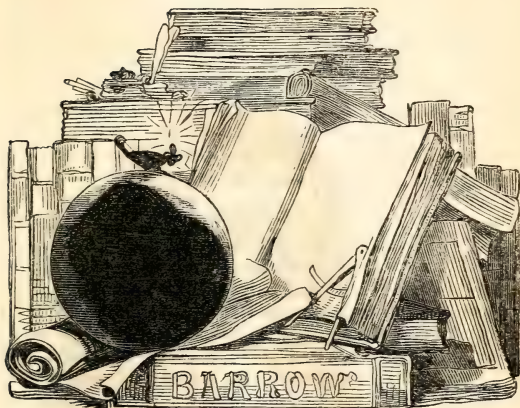
son, and the other by Mallet.* This is decisive as to his authority in such matters. From his utter want of taste and literary information he was not competent to select and decide upon the anonymous productions of his author; and he certainly swelled his volumes by printing much which Marvell had not written.

Bishop Burnet, who vilifies Marvell by calling him the "liveliest droll of the age," assures us, that "his books were the delight of all classes, from the king to the tradesman"—a sentence which, as Mr. Hartley Coleridge has remarked, accidentally points out the limits of reading in those days. As a senator honest Andrew's character does indeed appear to have been unimpeachable. He was above corruption when nearly all were corrupt: his untiring attention to the interests of his constituents, and to parliamentary business in general, might make him a model for parliamentary men, now that gross and direct corruption at least has ceased.

* Addison's Ode 'The spacious firmament on high,' &c.; and Mallet's ballad of 'William and Margaret.'



1. 11372



THE materials for the personal life of Barrow may be found in the 'Biographia Britannica,' with full references to authorities, particularly to Ward's 'Lives of the Gresham Professors,' also in Martin's 'Biographia Philosophica,' the 'Biographie Universelle,' and the life by Abraham Hill, prefixed to Tillotson's edition of Barrow's works. In this part we have followed the first-mentioned work in the facts and anecdotes cited.

Isaac Barrow was the eldest son of Thomas Barrow, linendraper to Charles I., and descended of a respectable Suffolk family. His father's brother, named also Isaac Barrow, was fellow of Peterhouse College, Cambridge, and ejected from thence by the Presbyterians about 1644. After the Restoration he was successively bishop of Man and St. Asaph, and died in 1680. Isaac Barrow, the nephew, is supposed to have been born in October, 1630, but this has been disputed on the strength of an expression of his own, reported by a friend, im-

plying that he was born on the 29th of February. However this may be, he was placed first at the Charterhouse, and afterwards at Felstead school in Essex. In the first he gave but little promise of excellence, his principal delight being in fighting, and his general habits negligent; so that his father is reported to have wished, that if it pleased God to take any of his children, it might be Isaac. At the second school he formed a good character, and in December, 1643, he was entered at Peterhouse College, Cambridge, under his uncle above-mentioned. But by the time (February, 1645) the nephew began his residence at the university the uncle had been ejected, and the nephew accordingly removed to Trinity College. His father, in the meanwhile, had suffered losses for his adherence to the cause of Charles I., and it is said that young Barrow was indebted for his support to the well-known Dr. Hammond. He was scholar of his college in 1647; B.A. in 1648; fellow in 1649; and M.A. in 1652; *ad eundem* at Oxford, 1653; B.D. 1661; D.D. (by mandate), 1670. These testimonies to his merit (the two last excepted) were the more remarkable, as he was, and always continued, a staunch Royalist.

Barrow was led to his mathematical studies instead of beginning by them. He had at first intended to practise physic, and had studied accordingly, but on his accession to a fellowship he began to study theology, as required by the statutes of the college. He found by his own wants that a divine must be a chronologist, a chronologist an astronomer, and an astronomer a geometer. To the mathematics he therefore applied himself; he had in the meanwhile, as all his writings show, closely studied the learned languages, so that on the resignation of the Greek professor he was recommended to that chair. This he did not gain, being suspected of Arminianism; and the disappointment, together with the unfavourable character of public events to his views, induced him to go abroad. He travelled (1655-1659) through France and Italy to Smyrna and Constantinople, thence again to Venice, and through Germany and Hol-

land home. After his return he was episcopally ordained, a little before the Restoration. The neglect with which he was treated after that event, and the distich in which he celebrated it,

‘Te magis optavit rediturum, Carole, nemo,
Et nemo sensit te rediisse minus’—*

are well known ; but in 1660 he was chosen Greek professor at Cambridge, and 1662 Gresham professor of geometry. But this last he resigned in 1664, holding its duties to be incompatible with those of the Lucasian professorship, to which he was appointed by Mr. Lucas at the institution of that chair in 1663; and this again he resigned in 1669 in favour of a pupil, a young man whom he considered as of the highest promise, aged 27, and named Isaac Newton; indeed his whole history is one of resignations of profit upon principle. He had previously been offered a good living upon condition of instructing the son of the donor; he rejected the offer as simoniacal. His uncle gave him a small living in Wales, and Dr. Seth Ward, bishop of Salisbury, made him one of the prebendaries of that cathedral. He applied the revenues of both preferments to charitable purposes, and resigned them when Charles II., in 1672, appointed him master of Trinity College. In this capacity he exerted himself to form a library, the want of which had been long felt. His letters to various individuals to induce them to subscribe to the undertaking are preserved in the edifice which they were, through his energy, and the influence of his high character, the means of erecting, and which is one of the most beautiful works of art in the university. He likewise remitted to the college several expenses which statute or custom might have compelled them to incur for the maintenance of his office. He died very young, considering his reputation, May 4, 1677, aged about 47, and was buried in Westminster Abbey: he left his manu-

* No one, Charles, desired your return more than I did, and no one has felt it less.

scripts to Tillotson (afterwards archbishop), and Abraham Hill, his biographer.

On the moral and personal character of Barrow there does not seem a shade which can enable any one to deny him the highest degree of human excellence. His energy of mind is sufficiently attested by the quantity of his writings—by the successful variety of his studies—by the extraordinary opinion of him formed by his associates, when compared with the degree of interest his writings present to posterity ; which is always, in our opinion, proof of a lustre cast upon writings by personal character—and by the erection of Trinity College Library above-mentioned. The quarrelsome disposition of his boyhood subsided into rational and even reasoning courage, under the discipline to which he subjected his mind. It is related of him, that being once attacked by a large dog which was kept chained all day, but let loose at night for the security of the house (in which he was a visiter, and in the garden of which he was wandering early in the morning), “ he caught him by the throat, threw him, and lay upon him, and whilst he kept him down, considered what he should do in that exigent : once he had a mind to kill him, but he quite altered his resolution, judging that it would be an unjust action, for the dog did his duty, and he himself was in fault for rambling out of his lodgings before it was light. At length he called out so loud that he was heard.” Being attacked by Algerines during his voyage to Smyrna, “ he betook himself to his arms, stayed upon the deck, cheerfully and vigorously fighting, till the pirate, perceiving the stout defence the ship made, sheered off and left her. I asked him why he did not go down into the hold, and leave the defence of the ship to those to whom it did belong. He replied, ‘ It concerned no man more than myself : I would rather have lost my life than have fallen into the hands of those merciless infidels.’ ”

The preceding quotations are from Dr. Pope, who was personally intimate with him, as cited in the ‘ Biogr. Britann.’ The following (from the same source) is the testimony of the same and other friends :—“ As to his

person, he was low of stature, lean, and of a pale complexion, and negligent of his dress to a fault." Being invited to preach for Dr. Wilkins (afterwards bishop of Chester, author of the 'Mathematical Magic,' &c.) in a parish church in London, his appearance, which was that of an apprentice, drove the whole of the congregation away, except a few persons, among whom was Mr. Baxter, the Nonconformist, who declared afterwards that he could have sat all day to hear him, much to the confusion of the congregation, who had complained to their rector of his substitute. An apprentice, when he came down from the pulpit, said to him, "Sir, be not dismayed, for I assure you it was a good sermon." On being asked what he thought of this person, he said, "I take him to be a very civil person, and if I could meet with him I 'd present him with a bottle of wine." "He was of extraordinary strength, a thin skin, and very sensible of cold; his eyes grey, clear, and somewhat short-sighted; his hair a light brown, very fine, and curling. He was of a healthy constitution, very fond of tobacco, which he used to call his *panpharmacum*, or universal medicine, and imagined it helped to compose and regulate his thoughts. If he was guilty of any intemperance, it seemed to be in the love of fruit, being of opinion, that if it kills hundreds in autumn, it preserves thousands. He slept little, generally rising in the winter months before day."

Dr. Barrow never married: his fellowship prevented his doing so in earlier life, and on his appointment to the mastership he had the permission rescinded, which was granted in the patent. Mr. Hill says he judged it contrary to the college statutes. Dr. Pope gives a curious reason, and says that Barrow would not expose himself to the civilities which a good match might perhaps receive. Such things do happen in our days, but Dr. Pope talks of "sieges, batteries, and importunities which he foresaw that honourable and profitable preferment would expose him to."

His sermons were excessively long. Preaching once in Westminster Abbey, at which time it was usual to

show the curiosities of the place between the sermons to the common people at a low rate, he detained his impatient audience so long that they caused the organ to play "till they had blowed him down." A sermon on charity, which he delivered before the mayor and aldermen, lasted three hours and a half; and another from the text "He that uttereth a slander is a liar," of which he was prevailed upon to preach only the half relating to slander, leaving out that which treated on lies, lasted an hour and an half. These anecdotes illustrate his writings, as we shall see.

The works which Dr. Barrow published during his life are as follows, in which a few words of the Latin titles only are retained:—1. 'Euclidis Elementa,' Cambridge, 1655, contains all the books of Euclid; translated, London, 1660. 2. 'Euclidis Data,' Cambridge, 1657, afterwards appended to the preceding. 3. 'Lectiones Opticæ XVIII.,' London, 1669; his celebrated lectures on optics; they were revised and augmented by Newton before their appearance. 4. 'Lectiones Geometricæ XII.,' London, 1670; containing his method of tangents. Afterwards, 1672 and 1674, printed with the optics. 5. Edition of Archimedes, Apollonius, and Theodorus, London, 1675.

The works of Dr. Barrow, published after his death, were, 1. 'Lectio, in qua, &c.,' London, 1678. This is Archimedes on the sphere and cylinder, demonstrated by the *indivisibles* of Cavalerius. 2. 'Mathematicæ Lectiones, &c.' These are Lucasian lectures at Cambridge, and the preface is the preliminary oration delivered by Barrow. 3. 'Works, &c.,' edited by Dr. Tillotson, Dean of Canterbury, London, 1685, the preface being Mr. Hill's life of Barrow. (Last reprint 1741?) They contain his English theological works, being sermons, expositions, &c. 4. 'Opuscula,' containing Latin sermons, speeches, poems, &c. There is a list of MSS. in the 'Biographia Britannica,' and in Ward's 'Lives of the Gresham Professors.' The 'Lectiones Geometricæ' and 'Mathematicæ' have been translated, the first by Stone, 1735, the second by Kirkby, 1734.

We are now to consider Dr. Barrow in two lights, as a mathematician and theologian. And in the first of these characters, without denying him high praise, we regret that the kind of language which has frequently been used concerning him should oblige us to differ from many great authorities. Without biasing the reader by the names of these, we shall quote some extracts from different writings:—

“He may be esteemed as having shown a compass of invention equal if not superior to any of the moderns, Sir Isaac Newton only excepted.” This was written by one who knew Vieta, Wallis, Descartes, and Leibnitz. “He has been excelled only by his successor, Newton” (in geometry). “The same genius that seemed to be born only to bring hidden truths to light, &c., &c.” This is quoted and agreed to by an encyclopædist of some authority in this country, who, however, does not state what these hidden truths were. “Barrow, scarcely an inferior name,” that is, to Newton, is the unguarded expression of a contemporary of great note. We must dissent entirely from such an extent of praise, as having tendencies injurious to correct biography, and not allowable even as the hyperbole which writers on that subject usually employ. We shall now make some quotations from foreigners, and, as in the former case, without names. “The ‘*Lectiones Opticæ*’ is full of profound researches in the properties of curves.” “His ‘*Lectiones Opticæ*’ are worthy to figure by the side of his ‘*Lectiones Geometricæ*.’ In this work, Barrow, quitting the route marked out by other opticians, applied himself principally to discuss questions which had not been treated at all, or which had not been sufficiently elucidated. Among other things he treats the theory of foci, which, except in a small number of cases, were then determined by experiment. Barrow gave a complete solution of all the cases of the problem, by an elegant formula. This book as well as the ‘*Lectiones Geometricæ*’ is a mine of curious and interesting propositions, to which geometry is always applied with particular elegance.”

The preceding is, in our opinion, the best description which could be given of Barrow's mathematical writings, in as few words; and we may, therefore, ask how the English accounts differ so much from it? Both cannot be true. The rival (almost) of Newton has been very unjustly treated in the second set of quotations, or if not, the first set is extravagant. There are two things to be considered.

Barrow produced in a geometrical form that prelude to the differential calculus which goes by the name of the method of tangents. It was, in point of fact, what was afterwards the fundamental notion of the differentials of Leibnitz, and, in Newton's language, asserted the ultimate equality of the ratio of the differences of two ordinates and abscissæ to that of the ordinate and subtangent. It was so like the previous method of Fermat that Montucla calls it Fermat's method simplified. It was no great step from the indivisibles of Cavalerius, which Barrow knew, as we have seen; and it was as like the method of Roberval as Newton's system is to that of Leibnitz. But even granting the originality of the invention, neither Fermat nor Roberval were ever extravagantly praised for their similar discoveries; and some think that Archimedes had already deprived them all of the merit of originality. When the dispute between Newton and Leibnitz occurred, which, to say the least of it, was not very fairly managed on the English side, perhaps not on either, our countrymen appear not to have sufficiently seized the strongest point of Newton's case. Instead of asserting, which we think they might have done, that Archimedes, Fermat, Wallis, Cavalerius, Roberval, Descartes, Barrow, Leibnitz, and a host of others, had all been in possession (under various lights) of a principle which Newton's fluxions also contained, but that all had wanted the essential instrument by which Newton made that principle available, namely, the *general* binomial theorem and its consequences; they all took issue (to use a legal phrase) upon the fluxional principle, as if that had given Newton the new powers which his method possessed. And

here they made of Barrow a sort of entrenched position, on which to fall back in case of defeat, affirming that if the method were not Newton's, it could not belong to Leibnitz, because Barrow had a claim of discovery prior to that of both. This gave a factitious importance to Barrow's interesting and elegant method, which had really presented the principle in a purer geometrical form.

In the second place, popular religious writers, endeavouring to impress on their readers the argument in favour of Christianity, arising out of the greatness of the minds which have received it, have frequently, not being well acquainted with the sciences, handled their subject unskilfully, and distorted the proper proportions of different reputations. Barrow, the eminent mathematician, and the most upright and consistent of men, one of the first theologians of his day, of varied and deep knowledge upon so many subjects, has often, in this way, had the splendour of all his different characters made to shine upon the only one in which he was viewed for the time, namely, that of a mathematician. The French Encyclopædists, whose bias lay in an exactly opposite direction, have fallen into a similar error, by representing him as an 'obscure' mathematician and theologian. The truth will lie between the two, though we can offer no opinion upon the exact point where. Barrow was neither an obscure mathematician, nor second only to Newton. In this point of view his merits are certainly not small. He was profoundly versed in geometry, acquainted with all its elegances as well as all its depth, and had a facility of application. '*Nihil quod tetigit non ornavit;*'* and he carried his methods, as many others have done, into theorems, both curious and useful. More than this, he conquered his nature to such an extent, in pure geometry, that Montucla justly says, 'The merit of these works is a singular brevity (*concision*) which does not destroy their clearness.' He, one of the most verbose of men, is one of the first

* He touched nothing that he did not improve.

writers who attempted, by throwing away circumlocutions and introduction of symbols, to distinguish between Euclidean rigour and unnecessary load of language. This seems to us no small merit; but where those discoveries lie which constitute this contemporary of Descartes second only to Newton, we must confess we do not know.

In the elucidation of principles Dr. Barrow is not so happy as in his application of them. The ‘*Mathematicæ Lectiones*,’ a commentary on the first principles of geometry and arithmetic, is a vast cloud of words, filled with antient learning of every kind; and, though sound and logical, very difficult to understand, that is, to find out in which of the multiplied phrases the meaning lies. In an attempt to explain the doctrine of proportion according to Euclid, he seems to us to have very much increased the difficulty of his author. It is true he sometimes complains of his own prolixity, but this is a very poor compensation for so annoying a defect; and we frequently feel the force of the self-accusing terms in which he ends one of his geometrical lectures---‘*I think I hear you exclaim---ἀλλῃν δρῶν βαλάνιζε.*’*

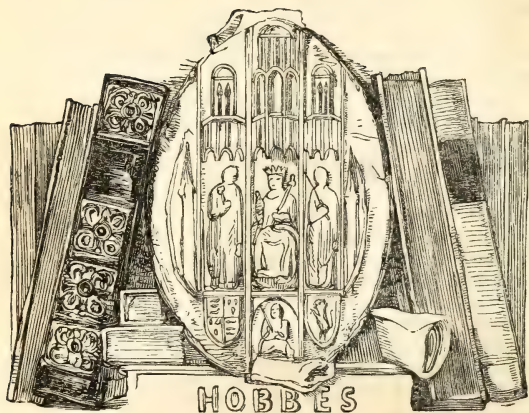
The character of Barrow as a theological writer has always stood high among the English divines. His sermons, as Le Clerc observes, are rather treatises and dissertations than harangues; and he wrote and re-wrote them three or four times. They are always cited as exact and comprehensive arguments, the produce of a grasp which could collect, and of a patience which could combine, *all* that was to be said upon the subject in question. But in addition to this, Barrow was an original thinker of no mean character: learning falls into his work, but a work there would have been if he had had no learning at all. The paragraph with which we conclude is a celebrated notion of his upon the Deity. Barrow, on his death-bed, looking forward to his future state, avowed that his principal idea of the happiness he

* Gather acorns from some other oak (*i. e.* you have completely exhausted the subject).

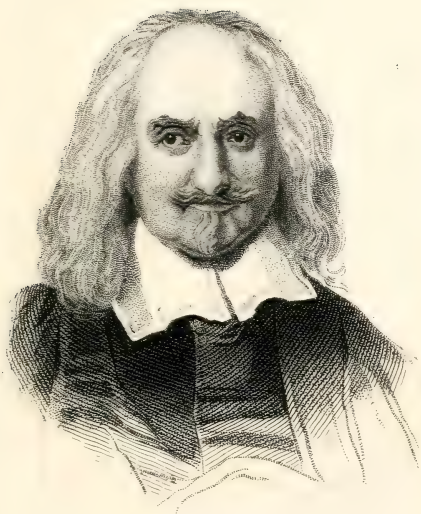
should receive consisted in his notion that he should be an *intuitive geometer*, seeing those things as self-evident which, as a man, he had been obliged to spend time in acquiring by demonstration. The following passage was written by him in his manuscript of 'Apollonius,' now in the library of the Royal Society, of which he was an early member.

Ὁ Θεὸς γεωμετρεῖ. Tu autem, Domine, quantus es geometra! Quum enim hæc scientia nullos terminos habeat; cum in sempiternum novorum theorematum inventioni locus relinquatur, etiam penes humanum ingenium; tu uno hæc omnia intuitu perspecta habes, absque catena consequentiarum, absque tædio demonstrationum. Ad cætera pænè nihil facere potest intellectus noster; et tanquam Brutorum phantasia videtur non nisi incerta quædam somniare; unde in iis quot sunt homines, tot existunt ferè sententiæ. . . . Te igitur vel ex hac re amare gaudeo, te suspicor, atque illum diem desidero suspiriis fortibus, in quo purgatâ mente et claro oculo non hæc solum omnia absque hac successiva et laboriosa imaginandi cura, verum multo plura et majora ex tuâ bonitate et immensissima sanctissimaque benignitate conspiciere et scire concedetur.*

* But, Lord, how great a geometer art thou! For whilst this science has no limits, and opportunity is afforded, even to the human intellect, for the invention of new theorems to all eternity, thou beholdest all these things at a single glance, without the chain of deductions, without the tediousness of demonstration. In other things our intellect can do scarcely anything, and like the ideas of brutes, our thoughts seem little better than the uncertainties of a dream; hence, in such matters, there are almost as many opinions as there are men. . . . I exult therefore in the love of thee even from this cause; I look up to thee, and with deep sighings long for that day when with a purified mind and a clear eye, I shall be permitted, by thy goodness and infinite and holy benevolence, to see and to know not only these things, but many more and greater, without this continuous and laborious anxiety of thinking.



THOMAS HOBBS of Malmesbury, as he delighted to call himself—in Latin, Thomas Hobbius, or sometimes Hobbesius—was born in that ancient town on the 5th of April, which happened to be Good Friday, in the year 1588. He came in a hurry into this breathing world, in which he was destined to live so long, and to fill so large a space in the eye both of his contemporaries and of posterity. A fright into which his mother was thrown by a rumour of the arrival of the Spanish Armada brought on a premature delivery. Her name was Middleton. His father, whose Christian name was the same with his own, was vicar of Charlton and Westport, a parish lying immediately beyond one of the gates of the town of Malmesbury; but he was far from being a learned theologian; the sum of his qualifications, it is recorded, amounting to being able to read the printed homilies to his congregation in a satisfactory enough way. Besides Thomas, the vicar and his wife had an elder son,



HOAR 32

Edmund, and a daughter. Thomas, according to a narrative of his own life, in Latin hexameters and pentameters, which he addressed, in 1672, to his friend Hieronymus Verdusius, spent his first four years in learning to speak; his next four in learning to read, to cipher, and to write a little: he was then, at eight years of age, sent to the grammar-school of his native town, taught by Mr. Robert Latimer, under whom he made such considerable progress that, before leaving school, he had produced a version of the *Medea* of Euripides in Latin Iambics. Hobbes's grammar-school days, therefore, extended from 1596 to 1602. His master, Latimer, was at this time a young man of nineteen or twenty, fresh from college. John Aubrey, the antiquary, who was born in the neighbourhood of Malmesbury thirty-seven years after Hobbes, was educated by the same teacher, who had, by this time, however, become rector of the adjoining parish of Leigh-de-la Mere. "I remember," says Aubrey, in his *Life of Harvey*, "my old schoolmaster, Mr. Latimer, at seventy, wore a dudgeon, with a knife and bodkin, as also my old grandfather Lyte, and Alderman Whitson, of Bristow, which, I suppose, was the common fashion in their young days." In his *Life of Hobbes*, Aubrey further writes as follows:—"This summer 1634, (I remember it was in venison season, July or August) Mr. T. H. [Thomas Hobbes] came into his native country to visit his friends, and amongst others he came to see his old schoolmaster, Mr. Robert Latimer, at Leigh-de-la-Mere, when I was then a little youth, at school in the church, newly entered into my grammar by him. Here was the first place and time that I ever had the honour to see this worthy learned man, who was then pleased to take notice of me, and the next day came and visited my relations. He was a proper man, brisk, and in very good equipage [equipment]; his hair was then quite black. He staid at Malmesbury and in the neighbourhood a week or better; 'twas the last time that ever he was in Wiltshire." Latimer, it appears, died in the beginning of November in this same year—so that Aubrey was one of his last scholars, as Hobbes had been one of

his first. The philosopher and the antiquary afterwards became great friends.*

In the beginning of the year 1603, Hobbes was sent to Oxford, and entered of Magdalen Hall. Here he remained for five years, taking his Bachelor's degree in 1607. He was supported, while at the university, by an uncle, Francis Hobbes, an elder brother of his father, who was a glover in Malmesbury, and held the office of Alderman, or chief magistrate of the town, and who afterwards left him in his will a little piece of landed property (*modicum fundum*), the same which, in his poetical autobiography he tells us that he gave away to his brother, and describes as small in extent but of good soil, and fitted to bear excellent crops of wheat. Aubrey says that it was worth sixteen or eighteen pounds a-year.

In 1608, on the recommendation of Mr. John Wilkinson, the Principal of Magdalen Hall, he was taken into the family of William Lord Cavendish of Hardwick, who, ten years after this, was created Earl of Devonshire; the common accounts say as tutor to his son, the Hon. William Cavendish, afterwards second earl, who had also just left the university, and was of about the same age with Hobbes. In point of fact, as we learn from Aubrey's honest narrative, Hobbes was engaged as page to the young man, "and rode a hunting and hawking with him, and kept his privy purse." If it was ever intended that the one should direct the other's studies, that part of the arrangement would seem to have soon fallen into neglect. In the prose sketch of his life in Latin, which is understood to have been written by himself, it is stated that Hobbes spent almost the whole of the year 1609 with young Cavendish in the capital, and, at the end of it, found that he had lost the greater part both of his Greek and Latin. Aubrey's account is that, by the way of life he led, as page, pursekeeper, and companion in hunting and hawk-

* See "Letters from the Bodleian," 2 vols. 8vo. Lon. 1813; vol. ii. pp. 382, and 593—637; and Mr. Britton's interesting and valuable "Memoirs of John Aubrey," published by the Wiltshire Topographical Society, 4to. Lon. 1845; pp. 27, 28.

ing, he, after a time, found that he had almost forgotten his Latin: "he then," it is added, "bought him books of an Amsterdam print, that he might carry in his pocket (particularly Cæsar's Commentaries), which he did read in the lobby, or antechamber, whilst his lordship was making his visits." It is evident enough, from all this, what Hobbes's position at first really was; he may have been in a certain sense the companion of the young lord's out-of-doors amusements; but he was, notwithstanding, rather a servant than an associate. At the same time it is to be remembered that this sort of connexion with a nobleman or his heir did not then carry with it any of the degradation to an educated man which it now would. And it appears not to have been long before Hobbes emancipated himself from whatever there was of a menial character in his situation. In 1610, he and Cavendish made a tour together through France and Italy, in the course of which Hobbes acquired some knowledge of the languages of both these countries; and when he returned to England he resumed his classical studies, diligently reading over the ancient poets and historians, with the aid of the best grammatical commentaries; so that he made himself at length a tolerable scholar, and attained, as he says, to a Latin style, which, if not oratorical, was at least correct, and which expressed his thoughts both truly and perspicuously.

While thus employed, he continued to reside with the noble family to which he had attached himself, till first the old earl died, in 1625, and then his son and successor in 1628. Aubrey asserts that the latter, who was a waster or spendthrift, used to send Hobbes "up and down to borrow money, and to get gentlemen to be bound for him, being ashamed to speak himself." It appears that he was regarded as filling the office of secretary to this earl. In the latter years of this his first residence in the Devonshire family, he had begun to be known and appreciated in the best literary society, if he had not as yet distinctly come before the public as a man of letters. It was at this time of his life that he was intimate with Lord Bacon, who is said not only to have

greatly delighted in his intercourse with Hobbes, but to have employed him in translating some of his writings into Latin. Aubrey particularly mentions one of the Essays which was translated by Hobbes, that entitled 'Of the Greatness of Cities,'—meaning probably the Twenty-ninth, 'Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates;' and there were two others, he says, which he had forgotten. Speaking of Bacon's habit of dictating his compositions to his friends, Aubrey adds, "His lordship would often say that he liked better Mr. Hobbes taking his thoughts than any of the others, because he understood what he wrote, which the others not understanding, my lord would many times have a hard task to make sense of what they writ."* Bacon died in 1626. Others of Hobbes's intimate friends were, the famous Edward Herbert, who was in 1629 created Lord Herbert of Cherbury; and Sir Robert Ayton, one of the most distinguished among the minor poets of that day, and holding rank in the king's court as well as in that of Apollo. To Ayton and Ben Jonson, the renowned dramatist, whose friendship he also enjoyed, he is stated to have submitted the manuscript of his first work, a translation of Thucydides, which he published in 1629. It appeared with the title of 'Eight Books of the Peloponnesian war, written by Thucydides the son of Olorus; interpreted with Faith and Diligence, immediately out of the Greek, by Thomas Hobbes, Secretary to the late Earl of Devonshire.' The work is formally addressed to the third earl, as yet a boy; but the translator sets out by declaring that he must be understood to dedicate his labour, such as it is, not to the living, but to the dead. In the preface he states that the translation had already passed the censure (that is, the censorship) of some, whose judgments he very much esteemed. Both in his prose and in his metrical autobiography he tells us that his object in publishing it was to expose the evils of democracy. Thucydides, he says, in the poetical per-

* Life of Hobbes, p. 603. See also his Life of Bacon, pp. 222, 223, and 234.

formance, was the writer who above all others showed me what a foolish thing democracy is, and how greatly wiser one man is than an assembly of men ; him therefore I made English, that he might warn my country-men, when desirous to take counsel, to shun rhetoricians. Hobbes, therefore, had already taken up at least the general principles of politics to which he adhered during his life. Notwithstanding the large mass of his writings, and the long space of years over which they extended, his speculations and conclusions, both in politics and morals, will be found to be from first to last almost perfectly consistent ; a circumstance which must be attributed in part to the mature age at which he first appeared as an author, as well as to the peculiar character of his understanding, which, systematic and passionless, saw whatever it did see both distinctly and readily, and, although it might persist in what a larger philosophy would deem half views, was not apt even at the first glance of a subject to overlook any consideration which it would on longer deliberation have recognised as material. It was not only a most acute and original, but so far as its vision extended, a remarkably complete and ready understanding. At the same time this first proclamation of his opinions on government, if not their formation, can hardly be supposed not to have been somewhat influenced by the state of public affairs at the moment. When the translation of Thucydides came forth to enlighten the nation on the folly and mischief of a government swayed by popular assemblies and the power of oratory, Charles I. was in the midst of his contest with his third refractory parliament, which had just forced upon him the Petition of Right, and which in return he was now about to dismiss with the fixed determination of never calling another. It was at this crisis, when the new opinions, both in politics and religion, which had long been fermenting in the national mind, had at last begun actually to shake the ancient monarchical constitution, which on their next outbreak, as by an explosion of compressed air, they were to lay in ruins, that Hobbes advanced to rebuke and if possible to exorcise

the evil spirit with his version of the antidemocratic Greek historian, which the murmurs of the coming tempest in the preceding two or three years had probably first set him to prepare.

There is some indistinctness, however, in the various accounts we have both of the first publication of this work and of the history of this period of Hobbes's life altogether. In his poetical autobiography, apparently without attending to any chronological order, he enumerates as the most memorable incidents of his 'first ten years' connexion with the Devonshire family, his study of the ancient poets and historians, his publication of his translation of Thucydides, his visit to Germany, France, and Italy, and the death of his patron, who, he intimates, did not leave the world without leaving him the means of a modest philosophic independence. Then, he adds, finding himself neglected in the quiet house (as the words seem to mean), he went to Paris and remained there for eighteen months. In his prose life of himself he expressly says that he published his Thucydides about the year 1628, and that in 1629, the year after the death of the Earl of Devonshire, he accepted the invitation of Sir Gervase Clifton, to accompany his son to France. The same account is given in nearly the same words in Antony Wood's *Historia et Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis*, to which work, published in 1674, it was probably supplied by Hobbes himself. Nevertheless, in what is called the *Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium* (or supplementary account of the life of Hobbes) drawn up, as it is understood, by Dr. R. Blackbourne, from authentic materials, and published by him in 1681, within two years of Hobbes's death, his consenting to accompany young Clifton to France is attributed to his desire to divert the grief occasioned by the earl's death; and the publication of his Thucydides is mentioned as if it had taken place after his return from abroad. According to the *Biographia Britannica*, also, the date commonly found upon what is called the first edition of the translation is 1634, the dedication is dated in the same year, and another edition dated 1676 is called only the second edition.

But the work was certainly first published in 1629, nor has the dedication in that first edition any date; and it is most probable that the copies dated 1634 were merely an unsold portion of that impression, with a reprint of the title-page and the dedication.

All the accounts agree in stating that it was during this visit to France that Hobbes's attention was first drawn to the mathematics. His own statement, in the prose sketch of his life, is, that the Elements of Euclid, which he then first began to look into, greatly delighted him, and that he perused the work with the greatest eagerness. What he professes, however, to have been principally taken with was, not the theorems, or the truths demonstrated, but the method of the reasoning. Of course, mathematical demonstration must, as the only perfect logic, have greatly interested Hobbes, whose manner of writing is perhaps the most strictly logical that has ever been exemplified in moral exposition, or that is compatible with speculation out of the region of definite quantities. But, whether it was that he made his first acquaintance with the mathematics at too late a period of life, or from some natural inaptitude, it is certain that he never acquired a correct conception of the first principles of the science, and that although it became from this time a chief subject both of his studies and of his writings. It would seem as if, in his endeavours to bring moral exposition as near as possible to mathematical demonstration, he had been led to reduce somewhat the requisitions of the latter, even if he did not attempt an undue rigour in the former.

Hobbes remained in France till 1631, when he accepted the invitation of the dowager-countess to return to his old residence with the Devonshire family in quality of tutor to the young earl, now thirteen years old. The *Auctarium*, which seems to make his translation of Thucydides to have been first published after this, says that about the same time he gave to the world his Latin poem on the wonders of the Peak of Derby (*De Mirabilibus Pecci*). Sir William Molesworth, who in his edition of Hobbes's collected works has printed it from an edition

dated 1678, in which it is accompanied by a translation in English verse, stated to be "by a Person of Quality," points out a passage in it from which it appears that it must have been written, at least in part, in the interval between the death of the first and that of the second Earl of Devonshire, that is between the years 1625 and 1628. Anthony Wood says that the first edition came out in 1636; and there is said to have been an edition in 1666, as well as the one of 1678. The poem extends to between five and six hundred hexameter verses; but, like other performances of Hobbes in the same line, it is rather curious than very poetical.

In 1634 he proceeded with his pupil to France, whence, after some stay in Paris, he passed on to Italy, and did not return to England till 1637. It is stated to have been during this visit to Paris, where his principal associate was Father Mersenne, of the order of the Minorites, then in eminent reputation as a scientific man, that he began to study natural philosophy, and made what he always considered his great fundamental discovery both in physics and in the philosophy of mind, the origination of all phenomena in the agitation of matter by various kinds and degrees of motion. Occupied with such inquiries and speculations, when he afterwards went to Italy he sought out the illustrious Galileo at Pisa or Florence; and the friendship which their genius and their common studies tended to beget is supposed to have been warmed and made closer by the aversion and dread with which they both regarded the ecclesiastical power and the excesses of religious zeal. Galileo, released after his recantation from actual imprisonment, but still under surveillance, was now an old man approaching his seventieth year, and in 1636, which would be about the time that the English philosopher found him, had, blind and bowed down with afflictions, just completed his *Dialogues on Motion*, the very subject of which Hobbes's mind was at the moment full.

In his poetical autobiography, Hobbes says that upon leaving Italy they returned to Paris, where he communicated his new views about motion to Mersenne, from

which time he adds that he also was numbered among the philosophers; and then, he says, he got back to his native country after eight months; by which he must mean after eight months spent in Paris. He speaks as if it had been not till now that he had made the acquaintance of Mersenne (*Hic ego Mersennum novi, &c.*); and he says nothing about having made any lengthened stay in Paris on their way to Italy, or even of having then passed through that capital, for by the expression *returning* to Paris he may refer to his late residence there in 1629 and 1630. At any rate he and his pupil returned to England in 1637. But the earl was now nineteen, and no longer wanted a tutor; and Hobbes was besides alarmed by the aspect of public affairs. The Scots had risen and driven out or put down their bishops; and everything seemed to threaten the end of the long suspension of parliamentary government, and the revival of that contest between the monarchical and the popular principles which he could not doubt would, whatever might be its final result, involve the country in a temporary anarchy. He shuddered at the prospect, he tells us, and betook himself once more to his beloved Paris:—

“ ————— Horreo spectans;
Meque ad dilectam confero Lutetiam.”

It appears, however, that he remained in England till a few days after the meeting of the Long Parliament in the beginning of November, 1640; and he drew up before he went abroad a treatise in support of the royal authority, of which many copies were taken in manuscript, and which afterwards formed the basis of his book *De Cive* and of his *Leviathan*. Of the former he printed a few copies in 4to. at Paris in 1642; but it was not published till 1647, when, after having been revised and augmented, it was brought out at Amsterdam by the Elzevirs, in 12mo., with the title of *Elementa Philosophica de Cive*. A French translation, executed by M. Samuel Sorbriere, appeared in 1649, and an Eng-

lish one in 1651; and there were re-impressions of the original Latin in 1650, 1660, 1668, and 1669.

Meanwhile he passed his time, agreeably enough, in study and in intercourse with Mersenne, Gassendi, and other men of letters resident in the French metropolis. He also engaged in a correspondence with Descartes on the laws of motion and other questions of natural philosophy. In 1646 he was selected to be mathematical tutor to the Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles II., who had recently come to Paris. He had, before receiving this appointment, made arrangements, by the advice of friends residing in that part of France, for transferring himself to Languedoc. What leisure he had he now, he tells us, employed in writing his *Leviathan*. Meanwhile, however, two or three of his shorter performances found their way to the press. In the beginning of 1650 Sir William Davenant published at Paris an elaborate Preface to his forthcoming poem of *Gondibert*, which he addressed "to his much honoured friend, Mr. Hobbes;" it is dated from the Louvre, the 2nd of January; and Hobbes's 'Answer,' which seems to have been printed along with the Preface, is dated Paris, January 10th. It comprehends both a disquisition upon poetry in general and a particular examination of *Gondibert*, his testimony in regard to which Hobbes winds up thus:—"I never yet saw poem that had so much shape of art, health of morality, and vigour and beauty of expression, as this of yours. And, but for the clamour of the multitude, that hide their envy of the present under a reverence of antiquity, I should say further, that it would last as long as either the *Æneid* or *Iliad*, but for one disadvantage; and the disadvantage is this—the languages of the Greeks and Romans, by their colonies and conquests, have put off flesh and blood, and are become immutable, which none of the modern tongues are like to be." The unerring verdict of time has not confirmed this judgment passed on Davenant's epic when it first appeared; and Hobbes has not gained any reputation for poetical taste by his criticism in this instance, any more than he has for poetical faculty by his own attempts in verse. As for his notion

about the disadvantage of writing in English as compared with writing in Greek or Latin, it was only what had been the nearly universal opinion down to that time. So we find Bacon declaring fifty years before that "these modern languages will at one time or other play the bankrupt with books," and resting for his sole chance with posterity upon getting his Essays and other works translated into Latin. Hobbes, it is curious, follows up this remark by another which is frequently repeated by Bacon:—"I honour antiquity; but that which is commonly called old time is young time. The glory of antiquity is due, not to the dead, but to the aged." The idea is also found elsewhere in Hobbes's writings.

In this same year, 1650, there also appeared at London, first, his treatise, entitled 'Human Nature; or The Fundamental Elements of Policy,' which, from the date of the Dedication to William Earl of Newcastle, would appear to have been written ten years before; and then that entitled 'De Corpore Politico; or, The Elements of Law, Moral and Politic.' They were followed the next year by his great work, which also appeared in English and at London, with the title of 'Leviathan; or, The Matter, Form, and Power of a Commonwealth, Ecclesiastical and Civil. By Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury.' It is a large treatise, consisting of forty-seven Chapters, divided into four Parts: the first entitled Of Man; the second, Of Commonwealth; the third, Of a Christian Commonwealth; the fourth, Of the Kingdom of Darkness. A few sentences from the Introduction will explain the meaning of the title:—"Nature, the art whereby God hath made and governs the world, is by the art of man, as in many other things, so in this also imitated, that it can make an artificial animal. For, seeing life is but a motion of limbs, the beginning whereof is in some principal part within, why may we not say that all automata (engines that move themselves by springs and wheels, as doth a watch) have an artificial life? For what is the heart but a spring; and the nerves, but so many strings; and the joints, but so many wheels, giving motion to the whole body, such as

was intended by the artificer? Art goes yet further, imitating that rational and most excellent work of nature, man. For by art is created that great Leviathan called a Commonwealth, or State, in Latin *Civitas*, which is but an artificial man; though of greater stature and strength than the natural, for whose protection and defence it was intended; and in which the sovereignty is an artificial soul, as giving life and motion to the whole body: the magistrates, and other officers of judicature and execution, artificial joints; reward and punishment, by which, fastened to the seat of sovereignty, every joint and member is moved to perform his duty, are the nerves, that do the same in the body natural; the wealth and riches of all the particular members are the strength; *salus populi*, the people's safety, its business; counselors, by whom all things needful for it to know are suggested unto it, are the memory; equity and law are artificial reason and will; concord, health; sedition, sickness; and civil war, death. Lastly, the pacts and covenants, by which the parts of this body politic were at first made, set together, and united, resemble that *fiat*, or the *Let us make man*, pronounced by God in the creation." The *Leviathan* is in fact a defence of the absolute sovereignty of one man as the only rational system of government. The principle from which the author deduces his conclusions is extremely simple, and may be stated with sufficient distinctness for our present purpose in the words of his own marginal summaries to the commencing paragraphs of the Second Part of the work;—"The end of Commonwealth, particular security; which is not to be had from the law of nature; nor from the conjunction of a few men or families; nor from a great multitude, unless directed by one judgment; and that continually." Perhaps the only way in which his reasoning can be effectually met is by disputing the first of these assertions, or denying that mere peace or security is the sole purpose of government. Hobbes's scheme of absolutism, it will be observed, stands upon altogether a different basis from that of the asserters of the *jus divinum*, or divine right, of kings. The *Leviathan* was

dissented from, accordingly, by Sir Robert Filmer and his adherents, maintaining what was called the Patriarchal scheme or system, as much as by the advocates of civil liberty as commonly understood. The only state of liberty, it is to be observed, which Hobbes recognises is that of men in a state of nature. Referring to that condition of things, he sets out by laying down the doctrine of the original liberty and equality of all men, in the same manner with the most extreme zealots of modern democracy, who indeed have probably taken the idea from him. To such opposite conclusions may speculators come, notwithstanding their having the same starting point.

But what raised the greatest and most general outcry against the *Leviathan* was the doctrine which it propounded upon the authority of the Scriptures, and also upon the proper position in a commonwealth of the church or ecclesiastical estate. In regard to both these matters Hobbes carries out his great fundamental principle of the absolute supremacy of the sovereign without mitigation or reserve. Holding that principle, he could hardly do otherwise than object to the independence of the church, or to a co-ordinate power in that or any other body; yet he thereby drew upon himself the opposition of the very portion of the clergy, those of the high-church party, who might otherwise have been counted upon as likely to support his general notions of government. His views with regard to the authority of the Scriptures at the same time excited the hostility of the generality of Christians of all classes, and especially of those inclined to what would now be called evangelical opinions, including all the Puritanical or Low Church party, and nearly all the various descriptions of Protestant nonconformists or dissenters. At the moment, indeed, when the *Leviathan* was first published, there was no recognised episcopal church in England, and consequently no High Church or Low Church party; the Presbyterians, Independents, and other sectaries possessed the land; but the work was reprinted, and continued to excite great attention, after

the Restoration. Its effect, and that of other publications by Hobbes in the same strain, has been to make him be popularly regarded as a disbeliever and enemy of Christianity down to the present day. Yet this is an opinion which certainly could only have been kept alive so long by the general neglect into which his writings had fallen, and the entire ignorance with regard to them of those who have been the eagerest and loudest in denouncing him. The only way in which it is possible to make out that Hobbes was an infidel is by deducing conclusions from his principles which he himself disavows, and with which he maintains they are not chargeable. His professions of sincere belief in the Christian Scriptures are earnest and unreserved ; he adduces them as of conclusive authority on all occasions ; his writing and reasoning is every where regulated or guarded by an attention to their requisitions, and is marked and coloured throughout its whole texture by what may be called a theological spirit. And certainly his doctrine with regard to what is called the authority of the Scriptures, whatever else that is unfounded or erroneous it may contain, implies nothing of infidelity, when fairly considered. It is stated in the *Leviathan* thus :—“ It is a question much disputed between the divers sects of Christian religion, from whence the Scriptures derive their authority ; which question is also propounded sometimes in other terms, as, How we know them to be the word of God, or, Why we believe them to be so : and the difficulty of resolving it ariseth chiefly from the impropriety of the words wherein the question itself is couched. For it is believed on all hands that the first and original *author* of them is God ; and consequently the question disputed is not that. Again, it is manifest that none can know they are God’s word (though all true Christians believe it), but those to whom God himself hath revealed it supernaturally ; and therefore the question is not rightly moved of our *knowledge* of it. Lastly, when the question is propounded of our *belief* ; because some are moved to believe for one, and others for other reasons, there can be rendered no one ge-

neral answer for them all. The question truly stated is, By what authority they are made law. As far as they differ not from the laws of nature, there is no doubt but they are the law of God, and carry their authority with them, legible to all men that have the use of natural reason; but this is no other authority than that of all other moral doctrine consonant to reason; the dictates whereof are laws, not made, but eternal. If they be made law by God himself, they are of the nature of written laws, which are laws to them only to whom God hath so sufficiently published them as no man can excuse himself by saying he knew not they were his. He, then, to whom God hath not supernaturally revealed that they are his, nor that those that published them were sent by him, is not obliged to obey them by any authority but his whose commands have already the force of laws; that is to say, by any other authority than that of the commonwealth, residing in the sovereign, who only has the legislative power." What is asserted here is no more than that, whatever may be felt to be the authority or obligation of obeying the precepts of the Scriptures by those who believe them to have come from God, it is only the sovereign, or legislative power, that can give to them the force of law in any particular country or state. This God has himself ordained to be the case. It is simply the statement of a fact. In the empire of China, for example, the government has not established Christianity or made it any part of the law of the land; and therefore no Chinese subject is, as such, bound to yield obedience to the injunctions of that religion. That he may be bound to receive it as the true religion in some other capacity, and without reference to his obligations as a subject of the country in which he lives, is nothing to the purpose; the whole question, as Hobbes states, is, By what authority the Scriptures are anywhere *made law*. It is plain that they can only be made law by that authority which alone in any particular country has the power of making any thing law, that is to say, by the sovereign authority of the state, whether that may

have been placed in the hands of a single person, or in whatever other manner the said sovereign authority may be constituted. And of course the same reasons that make this true of the general authority of the Scriptures make it also true of the particular sense in which disputed passages are to be understood ; that is to say, the right of interpretation of the Scriptures in any particular state, in so far as such interpretation is to affect the obedience of the subjects of the state, can only reside in the sovereign legislative power. For instance, the rule deduced from the Scriptures for the observance of the Sabbath, to which all the people of the state are to be held under an obligation in their quality of subjects to conform, can only be declared by the sovereign. But the truth is, that the position in reference to this subject which Hobbes was most anxious to refute was that of the disciples of the Roman Catholic faith, who insisted that, beside all temporal states and authorities, there existed another authority, that of the Universal Church, which, as founded upon the word of God, was superior to any and all of them, and entitled to interfere to any extent it chose with their regulations and arrangements. Accordingly, he finally states the question of the authority of the Scriptures as reduced to this :—“ Whether Christian Kings, and the Sovereign assemblies in the Christian Commonwealths, be absolute in their own territories, immediately under God ; or subject to one Vicar of Christ, constituted of the Universal Church ; to be judged, condemned, deposed, and put to death, as he shall think expedient or necessary for the common good.” A question not very interesting, perhaps, in our day ; but one which still continued to agitate Christendom in that of Hobbes, as it had done for many preceding centuries.

As for the distinction which he draws between *believing* the Scriptures to be true and *knowing* them to be true, it must be looked at with a reference to what he specially understands by knowledge. He has already, in a previous part of the work, defined knowledge as being of two kinds ; the first, absolute knowledge, which, says he, “ is nothing else but sense and memory, as when we

see a fact doing, or remember it done ;” the second, conditional knowledge, or science, “as when we know that if the figure shown be a circle, then any straight line through the centre shall divide it into two equal parts.” The former, he observes, “is the knowledge required in a witness ; the latter, the knowledge required in a philosopher.” It will not be contended that a belief in the truth of Christianity can ever possibly have the character of either of these kinds of knowledge, except only to the individual to whom it has been supernaturally revealed. But Hobbes was far from contending that there are no truths except such as are the subjects of knowledge, or that convictions of belief, although different from those of absolute knowledge or science, might not be quite as strong. In his treatise entitled ‘Human Nature,’ where he has gone into this subject at greater length, he shows that both sorts of knowledge are but experience ; “the former,” as he puts it, “being the experience of the effects of things that work upon us from without ; and the latter, experience that men have from the proper use of names in language :” and he afterwards observes, “*Belief*, which is the admitting of propositions upon trust, in many cases is no less free from *doubt* than perfect and manifest *knowledge*. . . . Now, there be many things which we receive from report of others, of which it is impossible to imagine any cause of doubt.” But even persons who do not adhere so rigidly as Hobbes is accustomed to do to a particular sense of the words they employ would be regarded as expressing themselves oratorically, or passionately, rather than philosophically, if they were to talk of *knowing* Christianity to be true ; the phrase in almost universal use is *believing* it. And this at least will be admitted on all hands, that the great mass of believers in Christianity, never having examined the evidences upon which it rests, cannot possibly possess what even the loosest writer or talker would call a *knowledge* of its truth. But, according to Hobbes’s understanding of what *knowledge* means, the subject is not one which in ordinary circumstances lies within the province of knowledge. If he be wrong here, his error

lies in the misconception or improper use of a word ; in which there is nothing more of either infidelity or heresy than there would be in bad grammar or bad spelling.

Hobbes relates, in the prose Life drawn up by himself, that during his residence in France, when he was living at St. Germain's, near Paris, he was attacked by an illness, from which it was thought that he would not recover ; and one day, as he lay in bed, his friend Mersenne came to him, on the suggestion of another person to whom they were both known, to try to prevail upon him to see a Romish priest. Sitting down at his bedside, Mersenne began to speak about the power of the Romish church to remit sins. "Father," interrupted Hobbes, "I have debated all these matters with myself long ago ; I have no inclination to enter into such disputes now. You have more agreeable subjects to talk to me about. When did you see Gassendi ?" Mersenne on this allowed the conversation to turn to something else. In a few days, Hobbes or his biographer continues, Dr. John Cosins, who became Bishop of Durham after the Restoration, came and offered to pray with him ; when he thanked him for his kindness, and at once replied, "Certainly, if you will use the offices appointed by our church." This, concludes the narrative, was a signal proof of reverence towards the episcopal discipline.

Hobbes returned to England in the latter part of the same year in which the *Leviathan* was published. His own account is, that certain English clergymen who were then in Paris raised such a cry against the book, as containing both some doctrines that were heretical and others that were opposed to the rights and interests of the royal cause, that he was forbidden to come into the presence of Prince, or, as he was now called, King Charles ; and that, thus deprived of protection, he became alarmed for the effects of the resentment of the Romish clergy, against whose principles and ecclesiastical system the work had been chiefly directed. A somewhat different story is told by Lord Clarendon, in a treatise which he wrote in 1670, during his banishment, and which was printed at Oxford in 1676, entitled 'A

brief View of the dangerous and pernicious Errors to Church and State in Mr. Hobbes's Book entitled *Leviathan*.' Clarendon, who describes Hobbes as one of the most ancient acquaintance he has in the world, and as "a man who, besides his eminent parts of learning and knowledge, hath been always looked upon as a man of probity and a life free from scandal," affirms that, when the *Leviathan* was printing, Hobbes, who received every week from England a sheet to correct, used often to call upon him. When he had one day told him some things that were in the book, Clarendon asked him why he would publish such doctrine; on which, after some talk between jest and earnest, Hobbes is stated to have said in the end, "The truth is, I have a mind to go home." This would seem as likely to have been said in jest as anything else that passed; the wit probably intended to mystify his formal and, with all his talent, somewhat common-place acquaintance; but the remark seems to have put a theory of the book and its object into Clarendon's head of which he never got rid. It is in truth, he maintains, a sly address by Hobbes to Cromwell, "that, being then out of the kingdom, and so being neither conquered nor his subject, he might, by his return, submit to his government and be bound to obey it; which, being uncompelled by any necessity or want, but having as much to sustain him abroad as he had to live upon at home, could not but proceed from a sincere heart and uncorrupted." This, he conceives, was especially the design of the short summary, styled a 'Review and Conclusion,' at the end, which, he says, the author "made short enough to hope that Cromwell himself might read it, where he should not only receive the pawn of his new subject's allegiance, by declaring his own obligations and obedience, but by publishing such doctrine as, being diligently infused by such a master in the mystery of government, might secure the people of the kingdom (over whom he had no right to command) to acquiesce and submit to his brutal power." Hobbes has noticed this among other calumnies, which had been flying about the world many years before Clarendon

wrote, in a pamphlet which he published anonymously in 1662, with the title of ‘Considerations upon the Reputation, Loyalty, Manners, and Religion of Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury, written by way of Letter to a Learned Person.’ The learned person was Dr. John Wallis, the celebrated mathematician, whose long controversy with Hobbes we shall presently have to notice. He maintains that at the time when he wrote and published the *Leviathan* he “had neither encouragement nor desire to return into England;” and he observes that when he did return, Cromwell was as yet only General under the parliament, and did not become Protector till two or three years after; so that he must have had the gift of prophecy if he had written the work with the design attributed to him. The common story that Cromwell offered to make him his secretary seems to rest on no sufficient authority.

Clarendon further relates that on or before its publication Hobbes presented his book “engrossed in vellum, in a marvellous fair hand,” to Charles II.; and Hobbes himself, as we have seen, admits in the sketch of his life, that the immediate effect was to make him lose his majesty’s favour for the moment. “Truly,” he says in this Letter to Wallis, “I believe he was displeased for a while, but not very long. They that complained of and misconstrued his (Hobbes’s) writings were his majesty’s good subjects, and reputed wise and learned men, and thereby obtained to have their misconstruction believed for some little time; but, the very next summer after his coming away, two honourable persons of the court, that came over into England, assured him that his majesty had a good opinion of him; and others since have told me, that his majesty said openly, that he thought Mr. Hobbes never meant him hurt.”

Another of Clarendon’s statements was, that Hobbes had “been compelled secretly to fly out of Paris, the justice having endeavoured to apprehend him;” to which others, it appears, had added the charge of deserting his royal master. In his Letter to Wallis, Hobbes says; “Nor did he desert his majesty, as you falsely accuse him, as his

majesty himself knows. . . . It is true that Mr. Hobbes came home, but it was because he would not trust his safety with the French clergy." In his own sketch of his life he states that he was forced to fly (*coactus sit refugere*). In the *Auctarium* we are informed that he went off in the midst of winter, and that the fatigue of the journey brought on a serious illness.

When he first came over to England he took up his abode in London, establishing himself, Aubrey tells us, in Fetter-lane. Here, among other persons of eminence, whose society and friendship he enjoyed, were the illustrious Harvey, the discoverer of the circulation, now approaching the end of his long and honourable career, John Selden, and Abraham Cowley. One of Cowley's most eloquent Pindaric Odes is addressed to Hobbes. The concluding stanza is very fine:—

Nor can the snow which now cold age does shed
 Upon thy reverend head
 Quench or allay the noble fires within;
 But all which thou hast been,
 And all that youth can be, thou 'rt yet;
 So fully still dost thou
 Enjoy the manhood and the bloom of wit,
 And all the natural heat, but not the fever too.
 So contraries on Ætna's top conspire;
 Here hoary frosts, and by them breaks out fire.
 A secure peace the faithful neighbours keep;
 The emboldened snow next to the flame does sleep.
 And, if we weigh, like thee,
 Nature and causes, we shall see
 That thus it needs must be:
 To things immortal time can do no wrong;
 And that which never is to die for ever must be young.

In 1653 Hobbes resumed his residence with the Devonshire family on the invitation of the earl, his late pupil; and he never again lost or relinquished that friendly shelter so long as he lived. He was now, as a literary man and a philosophic speculator, in full possession of a European celebrity; and for the remainder of his days no English writer attracted more notice either

in his own country or abroad. In 1654 he published a treatise, entitled 'Of Liberty and Necessity,' in answer to a work of Dr. Bramhall, then Bishop of Londonderry, afterwards Archbishop of Armagh. It is in the form of a letter to the Marquis of Newcastle, and is dated (in the first edition) from Rouen, 20th August, 1646. Without denying the freedom of human actions, if by that be meant (as he contends ought to be meant) that a man is in ordinary circumstances free to do what he wills, Hobbes asserts the dependence of the will in all cases upon causes or influences which it cannot itself control or resist, any more than the wheelwork of a watch can the action of the mainspring. He examines the subject theologically as well as philosophically; and his principles and conclusions are generally the same with those of Jonathan Edwards and other modern Scriptural necessitarians. This publication was followed in 1656 (the Dedication to the Earl of Devonshire is dated the 23rd of April in the preceding year) by his 'Elementorum Philosophiæ Sectio Prima; De Corpore;' of which an English translation, stated to have undergone the author's revision and correction, and in some places varying considerably from the original Latin, appeared the next year, with the title of 'Elements of Philosophy, the First Section, concerning Body.' It consists of 30 chapters divided into four Parts; the first, entitled Logic; the second, The First Grounds of Philosophy (*Philosophia Prima*); the third, Of the Proportions of Motions and Magnitudes; the fourth, Of Physics, or the Phenomena of Nature. The following passage in the Dedication is remarkable, and worth quoting by way of throwing light upon a disputed part of Hobbes's system of opinions:—"The first Doctors of the Church, next the Apostles, born in those times, whilst they endeavoured to defend the Christian faith against the Gentiles by natural reason, began also to make use of philosophy, and with the decrees of Holy Scripture to mingle the sentences of heathen philosophers; and first some harmless ones of Plato, but afterwards also many foolish and false ones out of the physics and metaphysics of Aristotle; and, bringing in the enemies, betrayed unto

them the citadel of Christianity. From that time, instead of the worship of God, there entered a thing called School Divinity, walking on one foot firmly, which is the Holy Scripture, but halting on the other rotten foot, which the Apostle Paul called *vain*, and might have called *pernicious philosophy*; for it hath raised an infinite number of controversies in the Christian world concerning religion, and, from those controversies, wars. It is like that *Empusa* in the Athenian comic poet, which was taken in Athens for a ghost that changed shapes, having one brazen leg, but the other was the leg of an ass, and was sent, as was believed, by Hecate, as a sign of some approaching evil fortune. Against this *Empusa* I think there cannot be invented a better exorcism than to distinguish between the rules of religion, that is, the rules of honouring God, which we have from the laws, and the rules of philosophy, that is, the opinions of private men; and to yield what is due to religion to the Holy Scripture, and what is due to philosophy to natural reason." In the same volume with the English translation were printed 'Six Lessons to the Professors of the Mathematics, one of Geometry (Wallis), the other of Astronomy (Ward), in the University of Oxford.' Wallis and Ward had both attacked the 'Elements of Philosophy;' and the 'Six Lessons' were the commencement of a controversy, which raged for nearly twenty years, and in the course of which Hobbes published more than a dozen additional tracts. They may be found enumerated, along with those produced on the opposite side, in the Life of Hobbes printed in the *Biographia Britannica*; and Mr. D'Israeli has, in his 'Quarrels of Authors,' given a lively and amusing sketch of the satirical and personal recriminations of this paper war, which soon spread from mathematics, over the whole domain of physical science, and in the end left Hobbes standing alone against not only the two Oxford Professors, but the general body of the Royal Society, and, indeed, it may be said, of all the geometricians and natural philosophers in existence. His last rejoinder appeared in 1674. Hobbes's mathematical lucubrations, as already noticed, brought

him no honour in his own day ; nor are they now of any interest or value, except as illustrating the peculiar character of his very remarkable mind, the preternatural growth of some of whose faculties would almost seem to have starved others. And at the same time that he was carrying on his war with the mathematicians about points, lines, curves, and other airy abstractions of that class, he and Bishop Bramhall, still engaged with their dispute about Liberty and Necessity,

— reasoned high
Of Providence, Foreknowledge, Will, and Fate,
Fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute,
And found no end in wandering mazes lost.

In 1658 appeared in Latin what Hobbes called the Second Section of his Elements of Philosophy (*Elementorum Philosophiæ Sectio Secunda*), his treatise ‘De Homine’ (*On Man*). It consists of fifteen chapters ; and its general principles are the same with those of his English treatise entitled ‘Human Nature,’ published eighteen years before. The *Elements* are completed by the treatise ‘De Cive,’ forming Section Third ; of which the English translation, published in 1651, has the title of “Philosophical Rudiments concerning Government and Society.”

On the memorable Tuesday, the 29th of May, 1660, as the restored king was passing in triumph down the Strand, Hobbes, having come up from the country on purpose, was standing at the gate of Little Salisbury House, where the Earl of Devonshire then lived—its site is now occupied by Cecil-street—and was observed by his majesty, who immediately sent for him, and, having given him his hand to kiss, kindly inquired after his health and circumstances. This was of course their first meeting since Hobbes took his hasty departure from Paris, on being debarred the royal presence, about nine years before. Not long after, while the king was sitting to Cooper the painter for his picture, the philosopher was, through the intervention of the artist, admitted to a longer and more intimate conversation

with his former pupil ; when Charles, a first-rate judge in such matters, was delighted with the wit and spirit of his talk, and he was ever after a welcome visitor at court. His portrait by Cooper hung in the king's closet, being the same from which the common engraved portraits have been copied. And, what was best of all, Charles settled upon him a pension of a hundred a year, which he enjoyed so long as he lived, although it appears from his will that the payments had fallen into arrears before he died, as was the case with most of the pensions bestowed by Charles. He had also an allowance of eighty pounds a year from the Devonshire family.

It was in the year 1664, when he was already seventy-six, that his attention was first particularly directed by his friend Aubrey to the study of the English Law ; the consequence of which was the composition of his elaborate treatise entitled 'A Dialogue between a Philosopher and a Student of the Common Laws of England,' first printed, after his death, in 1681. It displays considerable reading, as well as all his customary acuteness and other characteristic qualities. In the same volume was published another treatise entitled 'The Art of Rhetoric,' which is described in the bookseller's Preface as "an abridgment containing the most useful part of Aristotle's Rhetoric," and as having been "written some thirty years since." Along with these two works may be mentioned one much more remarkable and of much greater value than either, which also was not published, at least in a complete and correct form, till after his death ; his 'Behemoth ; The History of the Causes of the Civil Wars of England, and of the Counsels and Artifices by which they were carried on from the year 1640 to the year 1660.'" Whatever may be thought of his principles and general views in politics, this sketch cannot be read without the highest admiration of its lucid comprehensiveness, and the writer's strong grasp and thorough mastery of his subject. The satire, too, though quiet, is often very pungent. Hobbes, it appears, had been desirous that this work should see the light in his lifetime. The circumstances

which prevented him from sending it to the press are detailed in a letter, curiously characteristic both of his principles and his temper, which he wrote from Chatsworth on the 19th of June, 1679, to his publisher, Mr. William Crooke, at the sign of the Green Dragon, without Temple Bar, and which is prefixed to the 'Considerations' upon his Reputation, Loyalty, &c., as reprinted by Crooke in 1680. He says:—"I would fain have published my *Dialogue of the Civil Wars of England* long ago; and to that end I presented it to his majesty; and some days after, when I thought he had read it, I humbly besought him to let me print it; but his majesty, though he heard me graciously, yet he flatly refused to have it published. Therefore I brought away the book and gave you leave to take a copy of it; which when you had done, I gave the original to an honourable and learned friend, who about a year after died. The king knows better, and is more concerned in publishing of books than I am; therefore I dare not venture to appear in the business, lest it should offend him. Therefore I pray you not to meddle in the business. Rather than to be thought any way to further or countenance the printing, I would be content to lose twenty times the value of what you can expect to get, &c. I pray do not take it ill; it may be I may live to send you somewhat else as vendible as that; and, without offence, I rest your very humble servant, Thomas Hobbes." It would appear nevertheless that the work was printed more than once from an imperfect manuscript by other booksellers before Crooke brought out his correct edition, which he did in 1682. In an advertisement prefixed to that edition Crooke says;—"I am compelled by the force of truth to declare, how much both the world and the memory of Mr. Hobbes have been abused by the several spurious editions of the *History of the Civil Wars*; wherein, by various and unskilful transcriptions, are committed above a thousand faults, and in above a hundred places whole lines left out, as I can make appear. I must confess Mr. Hobbes, upon some considerations, was averse to the publishing thereof; but since it is

impossible to suppress it, no book being more commonly sold by all booksellers, I hope I need not fear the offence of any man by doing right to the world and this work, which I now publish from the original manuscript, done by his own amanuensis, and given me by himself above twelve years since." In the same volume with the *Behemoth* Crooke gave a correct edition of one of the tracts in the Bramhall Controversy: 'An Answer to a book published by Dr. Bramhall, late Bishop of Derry, called *The Catching of the Leviathan*,' "to prevent," as he says, "the like prejudice which must certainly have fallen on it, there being so many false copies abroad, if not thus prevented;" and he also added a more correct copy than had as yet appeared of a shorter tract entitled, 'An Historical Narrative concerning Heresy and the Punishment thereof,' which appears to have been first printed in 1680; and one of his mathematical tracts entitled 'Seven Philosophical Problems, and Two Propositions of Geometry,' "as they were translated," says Crooke, "by himself, and presented to his majesty, with the Epistle prefixed, in the year 1662, at the same time they came forth in Latin." The Epistle is deserving of notice as containing what the author calls "an apology for himself and his writings," more especially for his *Leviathan*. Whatever is in that work of theology, he begins by observing, contrary to the general current of divines, is not put there as his own opinion, "but propounded with submission to those that have the power ecclesiastical." "But what," he concludes, "had I to do with matters of that nature, seeing religion is not philosophy but law? It was written in a time when the pretence of Christ's kingdom was made use of for the most horrid actions that can be imagined; and it was in just indignation of that that I desired to see the bottom of that doctrine of the kingdom of Christ which divers ministers then preached for a pretence to their rebellion; which may reasonably extenuate, though not excuse, the writing of it. There is therefore no ground for so great a calumny in my writing [as that he was an atheist, or man of no religion]. There is no sign of it in my life;

and, for my religion, when I was at the point of death at St. Germain's, the Bishop of Durham can bear witness of it if he be asked. Therefore I most humbly beseech your sacred majesty not to believe so ill of me upon reports, that proceed often, and may do so now, from the displeasure which commonly ariseth from difference in opinion; nor to think the worse of me, if, snatching up all the weapons to fight against your enemies, I lighted upon one that had a double edge." This was written, it is to be remembered, perhaps before, or, if not, immediately after Hobbes had been openly received again into the royal favour; and it looks almost as if it had been written at Charles's instigation, or concerted between him and Hobbes. It was evidently intended rather for the public than for his majesty.

It had not, however, the effect of putting down the clerical outcry. In 1666 he was greatly alarmed by his *Leviathan* and his treatise *De Cive* being formally censured by parliament. Aubrey mentions a report, which he believes to have been true, that soon after the Restoration a motion was made by some of the bishops in the House of Lords "to have the good old gentleman burned for a heretic;" "which," adds Aubrey, "he hearing, feared that his papers might be searched by their order, and he told me that he had burned part of them." Pepys has the following notice in his Diary, under date of September 3rd, 1668:—"To my bookselleres for Hobbes's *Leviathan*, which is now mightily called for; and what was heretofore sold for 8s. I now give 24s. at the second hand, and is sold for 30s., it being a book the bishops will not let be printed again." The *Leviathan*, with such of the author's other works as had either been originally written in Latin or had been translated into that language, were in this year, 1668, printed in a quarto volume at Amsterdam at the celebrated press of John Blaeu; to which, we are told in the *Auctarium*, Hobbes had been obliged to resort by finding himself unable to obtain a licence to have the volume printed either at London, Oxford, or Cambridge.

In 1673 Hobbes, now in his eighty-fifth or eighty-

sixth year, came out in a new literary character by the publication of a translation of the Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, and Twelfth Books of the *Odyssey* into English verse; and this was followed in 1676 by a similar translation of the whole Forty-eight Books of the two great Homeric poems. It was a work of Herculean labour, at any rate, and a wonderful demonstration of mental vigour at so advanced an age. The performance, too, appears to have been received with considerable applause; a second edition having been called for in 1677, and a third in 1686. Nor was it without merit of a certain kind. It was evident enough now, indeed, if it had not been before, that Hobbes's mind not only was not poetical, but was positively anti-poetical—was without taste for or comprehension of that which essentially constitutes poetry. In this translation of Homer, in fact, all the poetry of the original is left out. It is passed over, or rejected, deliberately and systematically. One consequence of this is, that the length of each poem is very considerably reduced. The number of short English lines in the translation is a good deal less than the number of long lines in the original Greek. This is effected by getting rid of all the adornment, all the colour of the original. Yet the mere narrative is all preserved, and is rendered throughout with great clearness. There is all Hobbes's uniform distinctness and frequent terseness of expression. And the metre of course adds some liveliness; his ready ingenuity enabled him to manage that easily enough in such a way as not much to interfere with the customary flow of his style. It is the rich wine of the old Greek poetry, to be sure, reduced to water; but the water, at least, is pure and pellucid. And there are no doubt many readers, intellectual teetotalists, who would prefer the Homeric and all other poetry with the alcohol thus extracted.

Hobbes lived till within a few months of the completion of his ninety-second year. About the middle of October, 1679, he was attacked by a painful functionary disorder, which his physicians gave him little hope of being able to do more than alleviate. He was at this

time at Chatsworth. On the 20th of November, when the family removed to Hardwicke, Hobbes insisted upon accompanying them; and he made out the journey apparently without being the worse for it; but six or seven days after a stroke of palsy suddenly deprived him of the power of speech, at the same time benumbing all his right side; and he remained in almost a state of insensibility till he expired on the 4th of December. His body was interred in the parish church of Hault-Hucknall, close to the burying-place of the Devonshire family.

Hobbes, his friend Aubrey tells us, was "six feet high and something better, and went indifferently erect, or rather, considering his great age, very erect." Though extremely temperate in the latter part of his life, he had not been so scrupulously abstinent when a young man. He was very fond of music, and to the last, we are informed by Aubrey, "had always books of quick-song lying on his table." In his early years he practised on the bass-viol, and even when an old man, though he had not a good voice, he used to sing, especially when lying awake in the night: he thought the exercise good for his health. He set much store, indeed, by bodily exercise of all kinds; and he was probably also aware of the value of habits of mental activity both in preventing the intellect from decaying and even in prolonging health and life. Some curious notices of Hobbes in his latter days have been preserved by his friend Monsieur Sorbriere, who visited England in 1663, and afterwards published an account of his journey. The first thing he did, Sorbriere tell us, as soon as he came to London, was to seek out Mr. Hobbes, whom he found, he says, much the same man as he had seen him fourteen years before, "and even in the same posture in his chamber as he was wont to be every afternoon, wherein he betook himself to his studies, after he had been walking about all the morning." We quote from the English translation, 8vo. Lond. 1709. When Sorbriere had known Hobbes fourteen years before, the latter must have been resident in Paris, where, it would appear from this account, his habits were the same as in

England. Aubrey also tells us that "he contemplated and invented in the morning, but penned in the afternoon." The exercise of walking he took, says Sorbiere, "for his health, of which he ought to have the greatest regard, he being at this time seventy-eight years of age." In point of fact he was only seventy-five. "Besides which," the Frenchman goes on, "he plays so long at tennis once a week till he is quite tired. I found very little alteration in his face, and none at all in the vigour of his mind, strength of memory, and cheerfulness of spirit; all which he perfectly retained." Another longer passage, which afterwards occurs, is principally interesting as confirming notices which we have from other quarters. The king showed Sorbiere a copper-cut of Hobbes's picture in his closet of natural and mechanical curiosities, and asked him if he knew the face, and what opinion he had of him. "I told him," continues Sorbiere, "what I thought best and most proper; and 'tis agreed on all hands that, if Mr. Hobbes were not so very dogmatical, he would be very useful and necessary to the Royal Society; for there are few people that can see farther into things than he, or have applied themselves so long to the study of natural philosophy: he is upon the matter the very remains of Bacon, to whom he was amanuensis in his youth; and, by what I could hear of him, or observe by his style, he hath retained very much of him; he has studied his manner of turning things, and readily runs his discourse into allegory; but he has naturally much of his good humour and agreeable mien. I know not how it comes to pass, the clergy are afraid of him; and so are the Oxford mathematicians, and their adherents; wherefore his majesty was pleased to make a very good comparison, when he told me he was like a bear, whom they baited with dogs to try him." This may be compared with Aubrey's account:—"The wits at court were wont to bait him; but he would make his part good, and feared none of them. The king would call him the Bear:—*Here comes the Bear to be baited.*" The voluble French writer then runs into a disquisition about his friend's unfortunate prejudices against the true,

that is, the Roman Catholic Church, the consequence of his birth and bad education, which left him without any knowledge on the subject except what he had acquired from Protestant books of controversy; but that may be passed over. Sorbiere's account of his journey, when it was published, gave much offence in England, and drew forth an elaborate criticism, under the title of 'Observations, &c., written to Dr. Wren, Professor of Astronomy in Oxford [afterwards Sir Christopher], by Thomas Sprat, Fellow of the Royal Society' [afterwards Bishop of Rochester, and the writer of the History of the Society]. After some other remarks on what is said of Hobbes, Sprat affirms that Sorbiere evidently did not understand his friend's philosophy. Of this he gives as an unanswerable testimony the resemblance that he finds between Hobbes and Bacon, "between whom," says Sprat, "there is no more likeness than there was between St. George and the waggoner." "I scarce know two men in the world," he goes on, "that have more different colours of speech than these two great wits: the Lord Bacon short, allusive, and abounding with metaphors; Mr. Hobbes round, close, sparing of similitudes, but ever extraordinary decent in them. The one's way of reasoning proceeds on particular and pleasant images, only suggesting new ways of experimenting, without any pretence to the mathematics. The other's bold, resolved, settled upon general conclusions, and in them, if we will believe his friend, dogmatical."

A very interesting account of Hobbes's habits of life has been given by Bishop Kennet in his 'Memoirs of the Family of Cavendish,' though it is evidently coloured in some parts by the writer's clerical antipathies or prejudices. According to a tradition in the family, Kennet informs us, "his professed rule of health was to dedicate the morning to his exercise and the afternoon to his studies. And therefore at his first rising he walked out, and climbed any hill within his reach; or, if the weather was not dry, he fatigued himself within doors by some exercise or other, to be in a sweat, recommending that practice upon this opinion, that an old man had more

moisture than heat, and therefore by such motion heat was to be acquired and moisture expelled. After this he took a comfortable breakfast, and then went round the lodgings to wait upon the earl, the countess, and the children, and any considerable strangers, paying some short addresses to all of them. He kept these rounds till about twelve o'clock, when he had a little dinner provided for him, which he ate always by himself without ceremony. Soon after dinner he retired to his study, and had his candle, with ten or twelve pipes of tobacco, laid by him; then, shutting the door, he fell to smoking, thinking, and writing for several hours." Aubrey says, "He rose about seven, had his breakfast of bread and butter, and took his walk, meditating till ten; then he did put down the minutes of his thoughts. His dinner was provided for him exactly by eleven, for he could not stay till his lord's hour, *scilicet* about two. After dinner he took a pipe of tobacco, and then threw himself immediately on his bed, with his band off, and slept about half an hour; in the afternoon he penned his morning thoughts." "Towards the end of his life," Kennet adds, "he had very few books, and those he read but very little, thinking he was now able only to digest what formerly he had fed upon." A somewhat different account is given by others, who tell us that he never was a great reader or was surrounded by many books at any time of his life, and that he was wont to say that if he read as much as the generality of literary men, he should be as ignorant as they were. His favourite authors are said to have been Homer, Virgil, Thucydides, and Euclid. "He had very few books," says Aubrey: "I never saw above half a dozen about him in his chamber. Homer and Virgil were commonly on his table; sometimes Xenophon, or some probable history, Greek Testament, or so." "If company came to visit him," Kennet goes on, "he would be free in discourse till he was pressed or contradicted, and then he had the infirmities of being short and peevish, and referring to his writings for better satisfaction." Nearly the same thing is stated in the Latin prose sketch of his life, which is believed to have

been drawn up by Hobbes himself. "His friends," Kennet says, "who had the liberty of introducing strangers to him, made these terms with them before their admission, that they should not dispute with the old man, nor contradict him." "He could not," it is afterwards asserted, "bear any discourse of death, and seemed to cast off all thoughts of it: he delighted to reckon upon longer life. The winter before he died he made a warm coat, which he said must last him three years, and then he would have such another. In his last sickness his frequent questions were whether his disease was curable; and when intimations were given that he might have ease, but no remedy, he used this expression, 'I shall be glad, then, to find a hole to creep out of the world at,' which are reported to have been his last sensible words; and his lying some days following in a silent stupefaction did seem owing to his mind more than to his body. The only thought of death that he appeared to entertain in time of health was to take care of some inscription on his grave. He would suffer some friends to dictate an epitaph, among which he was best pleased with this humour:—*This is the true PHILOSOPHER'S STONE.*"

We have mentioned nearly all Hobbes's works, except his Ecclesiastical History in Latin elegiac verse—'Historia Ecclesiastica, Carmine Elegiaco concinnata'—which was printed at London (*Augusta Trinobantum*) in May, 1668; with an anonymous commendatory preface, stated by Aubrey to be written by Mr. Thomas Rymer, of Gray's Inn (the compiler of the *Foedera*). It extends to 2242 lines. Its principal design is to expose the encroachments of the clerical power. Aubrey says that it was written immediately before the Restoration, at Little Salisbury House, where Hobbes then lived with the Earl of Devonshire. "He did read," we are told, "*Cluverius's Historia Universalis*, and made up his poem from thence. His place of meditation was then in the portico in the garden."

Hobbes, after having made more noise than any other English writer in his own day, and for some time after

his death, filling, it may be said, the whole of the latter half of the seventeenth century with alarm and contention, had fallen into general neglect, and remained to most readers only a mighty and somewhat mysterious name, till attention has been recalled to the extraordinary merits of his writings within the last few years. The public is greatly indebted to Sir William Molesworth for the first complete edition of the works of the Philosopher of Malmesbury, in 16 volumes 8vo., London, 1839-1845. Such a publication could not have been completed except at great pecuniary cost; and it affords an example of munificence and love of letters calling both for the imitation of other men of fortune and for the applause of all men.



THE materials for a life of Samuel Butler are very scanty, and in this respect he resembles Shakspeare, and not in this respect only. Like him, in his particular line he excelled, not only all his contemporaries, but the whole world. Like him he occupied a conspicuous position in the public eye; but no one has thought it necessary to leave any record of his whereabouts. Like him he has left no traces of the events of his life, of his private feelings, affections, or resentments, scattered in his works, the best memorials of many writers; though in both cases misplaced ingenuity has endeavoured to discover portraits of individuals where a class only has been intended, and the Justice Shallow of the one, and the Justice Hudibras of the other, have been tortured into fancied pasquinades dictated by a feeling of revenge. In both cases the ingenuity has been employed to lower identity to mere reality; to reduce the efforts of genius to that of the copyist; to narrow keen-sighted general observation of



JOHN LOCKE

the peculiarities of the human mind, to an ill-natured delineation of individual personalities.

Born of respectable parents, for his father was a large farmer, holding a farm of three hundred a-year under a royalist landlord, Sir William Russell, and also possessing a freehold of ten pounds a-year, Samuel Butler, according to Dr. Nash, was baptized in the parish church of Stremsham in Worcestershire, on the 8th of February, 1612, of which parish his father had been churchwarden in the previous year, and the entry in the parish register is in his father's hand-writing. He was consequently without doubt early initiated into the principles to which, as far as we know, he steadily adhered throughout his life, for his father appears to have been an active and intelligent man, busy in the affairs of the parish, and keeping its register; possessing the confidence of his landlord, who was so distinguished for his adherence to the royal cause that he was the only person exempted from the benefit of the agreement made with the parliament when Worcester was surrendered to the parliamentary forces in 1646. Samuel Butler was the fifth child, three daughters and one son were older than himself, and two sons were born subsequently; all were natives of the same parish, and the house of his father still exists, near the banks of the Avon, though now shorn of its respectability, and known only as Butler's cot. Descendants of some of the brothers and sisters are said to have been alive in the neighbourhood at a recent period, though none of the poet himself. With such a parent it is not likely that his domestic education was neglected; but at an early period he was sent to the college-school at Worcester, then conducted by Dr. Henry Bright, a teacher who did much to raise the character of his school, not only by his own learning, but by the attention he paid to his pupils, and who had thence made himself popular among the gentry of the county, who considered it a distinction to have their sons under his care. Butler, however, must have been soon deprived of this gentleman's tuition, as he died at the age of 64, in the year 1626, and is buried in Worcester cathedral, of which he was a Pre-

bendary, and where there is a mural monument to his memory.

How long Butler remained at the school is not known, nor where nor how he obtained the remainder of his education. He is said to have been at Cambridge, but never matriculated, and Anthony à Wood asserts that he was there six or seven years. Dr. Nash doubts the truth of the statement, and suspects he was at Oxford from the use of a term in his *Hudibras*, peculiar to that university—

As if the unreasonable fools
Had been a *coursing* in the schools.

“Coursing,” he says, “is a term used in the university of Oxford, for some exercises preparatory to a master’s degree. They were disputations in Lent, which were regulated by Dr. John Fell, for before his time the endeavours of one party to run down and compete another in disputations did commonly end in blows, and domestic quarrels, the refuge of the vanquished party. Wood’s *Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 603. Hence, and from another passage or two, it has been thought that Mr. Butler had received an academical education.” It may be thought that these are very slight foundations on which to erect such a conclusion; but from the enormous amount of learning he possesses, Butler must certainly have been a diligent scholar somewhere, and possessed facilities for acquiring knowledge, that it is difficult to suppose could be enjoyed at that period except at an university.

Dr. Nash also notices a statement that he studied the law, and was a member of Gray’s Inn, during which time he belonged to a club of loyalists with Cleveland and other wits. That he was not a member of Gray’s Inn, we have ascertained by searching the lists in the library of that Inn; but there can be no doubt of his being well read in the law, not only from the vast number and correct use of law terms in his works, but from the fact that Dr. Nash says, “If further evidence were wanting I can produce a MS. purchased of some of our poet’s relations at the Hay in Brecknockshire. It appears to be a collection of legal cases and principles, regularly related from

Lord Coke's Commentary on Littleton's Tenures: the language is Norman, or low French, and, in general, an abridgment of the above-mentioned celebrated work: for the authorities in the margin of the MS. correspond exactly with those given on the same positions in the first institute; and the subject matter contained in each particular section of Butler's legal tract is to be found in the same numbered section of Coke upon Littleton: the first book of the MS. likewise ends with the 84th section, which same number of sections also terminate the first institute; and the second book of the MS. is entitled by Butler, '*Le second livre de primer part de l'institutes de ley d'Engleterre.*' The titles of the respective chapters of the MS. also precisely agree with the titles of each chapter of Coke upon Littleton: it may therefore reasonably be presumed to have been compiled by Butler solely from Coke upon Littleton, with no other object than to impress strongly on his mind the sense of that author, and written in Norman to familiarise himself with the barbarous language in which the learning of the common law of England was at that period almost uniformly expressed. The MS. is imperfect; no title existing, some leaves being torn, and is continued only to the 193rd section, which is about the middle of Coke's second book of the first institute." Wherever acquired, it was probably about this period that Butler made his earliest acquaintance with the law, as the first established fact is his return to his native county, and becoming clerk to Thomas Jefferies, Esq., an active magistrate, taking a prominent part in the business of the county, who resided at Earl's Croome, in whose house he resided, and with whose family he was domesticated, and on terms of great confidence and friendship.

Such a situation must have necessarily required a considerable acquaintance with the law, and have extended the knowledge he already possessed. But all his attention was not devoted to that subject; he had probably much leisure, and he cultivated the arts of music and painting, though without any considerable success, at least in the latter, for Dr. Nash says he had seen some of his portraits,

“which did him no great honour as an artist.” Among his portraits there is said to have been one of Oliver Cromwell, a curious fact, if true, especially if painted at this period, before Cromwell had attained any considerable degree of eminence.

Subsequent to his residence with Mr. Jefferies, but at what precise date is not known, he entered the service of Elizabeth, Countess of Kent, with whom; at her seat at Wrest, in Bedfordshire, he lived through the most troubled period of the civil war, and where, in addition to the advantage of a large library, he enjoyed the society and the friendship of the learned Selden, and as, on the death of the Countess, Selden was left her executor, it is possible that his employment did not entirely cease on her demise.

In the very short and unsatisfactory sketch of Butler's life, published with the edition of *Hudibras*, in 1710, which has been the basis for all succeeding accounts of him, it is stated, “our author lived some time also with Sir Samuel Luke, who was of an ancient family, residing at Cople Hoo, or Wood End, in Bedfordshire; but, to his dishonour, an eminent commander under the usurper Oliver Cromwell.” If he did, it was probably about this time, and there would be no reason why he should not again have been the clerk to an active presbyterian magistrate, which Sir Samuel Luke was, though not an adherent of “the usurper Oliver Cromwell,” by whom, indeed, himself and his father were “secluded” from the House of Commons, immediately prior to the king's trial and execution, probably on account of their known opposition to those measures; and, as little reason is there for any imputation of ingratitude against Butler, if he incorporated any of the features of the magistrate, the colonel in the parliamentary army, and the scout-master of the forces, in his portrait of *Hudibras*.

However occupied, nothing is known of the position or occupation of Butler, till upwards of two years after the Restoration. On the 11th of November, 1662, an imprimatur, signed J. Berkenhead, was granted him for printing the First Part of his *Hudibras*; and on November

5, 1663, Sir Roger l'Estrange granted the imprimatur for printing the Second Part, which appeared early in 1664. The success was complete, and the first part was instantly pirated, for, in the *Mercurius Aulicus* of Jan. 1 to 8, 1662—3, an advertisement was inserted, stating that, "there is stolen abroad a most false and imperfect copy of a poem called *Hudibras*, without name either of printer or bookseller; the true and perfect edition, printed by the author's original, is sold by Richard Marriott, near St. Dunstan's Church, in Fleet Street; that other nameless impression is a cheat, and will but abuse the buyer, as well as the author, whose poem deserves to have fallen into better hands." He was now introduced at court, by the Earl of Dorset, and Charles the Second made him a present of 300*l.* exempted from the payment of fees, and is also said to have bestowed a pension of 100*l.* a-year on him, but this is doubtful. It is, however, certain that he was appointed secretary to the Earl of Carbery, Lord President of the principality of Wales, and, in 1677, was made steward of Ludlow Castle.

Somewhere about this time, he married a lady of the name of Herbert. She was of a good family and of competent fortune, but the fortune was lost to the poet, as the biography of 1710 states, by being placed out "on ill securities;" and we learn nothing more of the lady, though we may presume that she died before him and without issue. He now also enjoyed the intimacy of many of the most eminent courtiers and wits of the day, particularly the Earl of Dorset, and, it is added, the Duke of Buckingham, to whom Wood says he was secretary when the duke was Chancellor of Cambridge. Of the Duke of Buckingham, however, a story is told of Butler having been introduced to him by Wycherley, who represented the merits and the wants of Butler. The duke readily acknowledged them, and undertook to promote his case with the king, but, being called away suddenly by some of his dissolute pleasures, Butler never derived any benefit from the promise. The story is told by Packe, in his life of Wycherley, and it is certain the Duke of Buckingham was no favourite with Butler, he

being one of the very few he has satirised so personally that there is no possibility of mistaking him, under the title of a Duke of Bucks, in his 'Characters.'

It appears from Butler's common-place book, which, with his other manuscripts, came into the possession of Mr. Longueville, that he visited France; at what time is not positively known, but it is likely to have been about this period. The impression he received was not at all favourable either to the country, to Paris, to the people, the language, or the monarch, on all of which he has left caustic and disparaging remarks; among other things, he says, "The French do nothing without ostentation, and the king himself is not behind with his triumphal arches consecrated to himself, and his impress of the sun, '*nec pluribus impar*' (unmatched no more):" and "they talk so much, they have not time to think; and, if they had all the wit in the world, their tongues would run before it." A good Englishman, although he had so bitterly satirised the faults and foibles of his countrymen, it is clear he preferred even their defects to the qualities on which foreigners might pride themselves, the readiness to converse and the splendour of their public buildings.

In 1674, an heroical epistle from Hudibras to Sidrophel was published, and has been uniformly since inserted in all editions of Hudibras, after the third canto of the second part, descriptive of the adventure with the astrologer, although it has not the remotest connexion with the poem. The Sidrophel to whom the epistle is addressed is said to have been Sir Paul Neal, a member of the Royal Society, who had given offence by affirming that Butler was not the real author of Hudibras. It is not even written in the character of Hudibras, though his name is used as the writer, but is merely a sharp and bitter attack on a person represented as a conceited pretender to an acquaintance with science, and whose want of veracity was as remarkable as his want of knowledge. Though it bears the evident stamp of being dictated by personal feeling, it is remarkable that even here the exact identification is carefully avoided, so that some of his commentators deny that Neal was meant, but consider

that the portrait was intended for Lilly. We do not agree with this conjecture, for the *Sidrophel* of the poem and of the epistle have little in common; and if Lilly were the original of either, and to a considerable extent we believe he was, he must have been of the poem itself.

After another interval of four years, in 1678, the Third and last Part of *Hudibras* appeared, together with the Epistle to the Lady, and the Lady's Answer, fifteen years after the publication of the first part. In the meantime, several editions of the earlier parts had been issued, and, on the 10th of September, 1677, he had found it necessary to obtain and issue the following injunction, of which the original is in the British Museum, Bibl. Birch, No. 4293. "Charles R. Our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby strictly charge and command, that no printer, bookseller, stationer, or other person whatsoever, within our kingdom of England or Ireland, do print, reprint, utter, or sell, or cause to be printed, reprinted, uttered, or sold, a book or poem called *Hudibras*, or any part thereof, without the consent and approbation of Samuel Boteler, esq., or his assignees, as they and every of them will answer the contrary at their perils. Given at our court of Whitehall, the tenth day of September, in the year of our Lord God 1677, and in the 29th year of our reign. By his Majesty's command, Jo. Berkenhead."

Even the date of Butler's death is not exactly known, but it occurred some time in 1680. During the latter part of his life he had resided in Rose-street, Long Acre, retired and studious, but, apparently, neither misanthropical nor in distress. The biography of 1710 states, indeed, that "the integrity of his life, the acuteness of his wit, and easiness of his conversation, had rendered him most acceptable to all men; yet he prudently avoided multiplicity of acquaintance, and wisely chose such only whom his discerning judgment could distinguish (as Mr. Cowley expresseth it)

"from the great vulgar as the small;"

and having thus lived to a good old age, admired by all, though personally known to few, he departed this life in the year 1680."

An endeavour was made by his executor, Mr. Wm. Longueville, of the Temple, to have him buried in Westminster Abbey; but, as he failed in raising a subscription sufficient for that purpose, a private funeral deposited the body of Butler in the churchyard of St. Paul's, Covent-Garden, without any memorial to mark the spot. But Butler was not forgotten. In 1721, Alderman John Barber, a printer of London, erected a monument to his memory, in Westminster Abbey, with the following inscription:—

M. S.
 Samuelis Butler
 Qui Strenshamiae in agro Vigorn. natus 1612;
 Obiit Lond. 1680.
 Vir doctus imprimis, acer, integer,
 Operibus ingenii non item præmiis felix.
 Satyrici apud nos carminis artifex egregius,
 Qui simulatæ religionis larvam detraxit
 Et perduellium scelera liberrime exagitavit,
 Scriptorum in suo genere primus et postremus.
 Ne cui vivo deerant fere omnia
 Deesset etiam mortuo tumulus
 Hoc tandem posito marmore curavit
 Johannes Barber, civis Londinensis, 1721.*

The latter part of the epitaph gave occasion to the following epigram by Mr. Samuel Wesley :

While Butler, needy wretch, was yet alive,
 No gen'rous patron would a dinner give;
 See him, when starv'd to death, and turn'd to dust,
 Presented with a monumental bust.

* Sacred to the memory of Samuel Butler, who was born at Strensham, in Worcestershire, in 1612, and died in London, in 1680,—a man of the greatest learning, acuteness, and integrity; happy in the productions of his intellect, not so in the remuneration of them; a supereminent master of satirical poetry, by which he took away the mask from hypocrisy, and boldly exposed the crimes of faction. As a writer, he was the first and last in his peculiar style. John Barber, a citizen of London, in 1721, by at length erecting this marble, took care that he who, when living, was destitute of almost everything, might not also want a tomb when dead.

The poet's fate is here in emblem shown,
He ask'd for bread, and he received a stone.

In 1786, when the church of St. Paul was repaired, a marble monument was erected by a subscription of some of the parishioners, which errs, however, in stating that he was buried "*in the church,*" with the following inscription :

A few plain men, to pomp and state unknown,
O'er a poor bard have raised this humble stone,
Whose wants alone his genius could surpass,
Victim of zeal ! the matchless Hudibras !
What, though fair freedom suffered in his page,
Reader, forgive the author for the age !
How few, alas ! disdain to cringe and cant,
When 'tis the mode to play the sycophant !
But oh ! let all be taught from Butler's fate,
Who hope to make their fortunes by the great,
That wit and pride are always dangerous things,
And little faith is due to courts and kings.

The assumption of Butler's poverty seems utterly unfounded. Though not wealthy, he seems, as far as we can judge, to have always lived in comfort, and we know from the statement of Mr. Longueville that he died out of debt. Butler was not one of those

Who hop'd to make their fortune by the great ;

and though no doubt he might have felt he had not been rewarded according to his deserts by his party, he was not neglected. He had received a large share of popular applause, and was probably prouder of that, and of the power of castigating the follies and vices of mankind, even when displayed by those of his own party, than of being a more highly pensioned dependent of a court that his writings show he despised. He was no "needy wretch" in want of bread or a dinner. It will have been noticed that his earliest biography gives no hint of his distress ; he enjoyed friends of his own selection, and the injunction designates him as "esquire," a title not altogether so indiscriminately applied as at the present time. It may be noticed also that the name there assumes the more aristocratic form of Boteler. The only

foundation for the assertion consists in his having copied twice, in his common-place book, a distich from the prologue to the tragedy of Constantine the Great, said to have been written by Otway, though the tragedy was not acted till 1684, four years after Butler's death. It is supposed he might have seen the MS., or perhaps only heard the thought, as his copies vary from each other and from the lines as they ultimately appeared.

To think how Spenser died, how Cowley mourn'd,
How Butler's faith and service were returned.

It was, however, long the fashion to complain of the scanty reward bestowed on literary pursuits, yet, we are inclined to think, though authors had then a less certain support in the patronage of a few than now when they appeal to a numerous public, that the improvidence of the individual was more to blame than the niggardliness of the patrons, and of this improvidence there does not appear to be the slightest ground for accusing Butler.

A few years after Butler's death, namely, in 1715, 1716, and 1717, three small volumes were published, purporting to be his posthumous remains. All were spurious except an ode to the highwayman Duval, which had been published in his life-time. This was the only piece which so appeared, except his *Hudibras*, and an 'Epistle to the Hon. Edward Howard, upon his incomparable poem of the British Princes,' which having been given in Dryden's 'Miscellanies' under the name of Mr. Waller, has been since printed among his works, though there is no doubt of its being Butler's, as well from the style as from the MS. being found among his 'Remains.' These poems were collected into one edition in three volumes in 1732, and several editions have been issued. How things so utterly worthless on the whole could have deceived the world into a belief that they were Butler's is hard to imagine. But in 1759, a selection from the genuine papers, bequeathed by Butler to Mr. Longueville, was published by Mr. Thyer of Manchester, under the title of 'Remains,' and these well sustain the character of the author of *Hudibras*, though it is very remarkable, that in these, what we may call sup-

pressed writings, there is far more of personal satire than in his published poem. One of the two volumes issued by Mr. Thyer consists of a series of 'Characters' in prose, a species of composition in which he had been preceded by Bishop Earle, Sir Thomas Overbury, and Bruyère, and for wit and acuteness he fully equals if he does not exceed the best of them.

The admirable fecundity of wit, and the infinite variety of knowledge displayed in *Hudibras*, have been universally admitted. Dr. Johnson well expresses the general sense of all its readers when he says, "if inexhaustible wit could give perpetual pleasure, no eye would ever leave half read the work of Butler; for what poet has ever brought so many remote images so happily together? It is scarcely possible to peruse a page without finding some association of images that was never found before. By the first paragraph the reader is amused, by the next he is delighted, and by a few more strained to astonishment; but astonishment is a toilsome pleasure; he is soon weary of wondering, and longs to be diverted." And he adds "Imagination is useless without knowledge; nature gives in vain the power of combination, unless study and observation supply materials to be combined. Butler's treasures of knowledge appear proportioned to his experience: whatever topic employs his mind, he shows himself qualified to expand and illustrate it with all the accessaries that books can furnish: he is found not only to have travelled the beaten road, but the bye-paths of literature; not only to have taken general surveys, but to have examined particulars with minute inspection." It is true he finds fault with the plot and the diction, while Dryden condemns the versification. That is, in fact, that Butler might have written something else; for it is to be considered that the poem is a burlesque; that *plot*, in an artistic sense, it has none; merely a few scenes to introduce the characters, whose colloquies would have buried any plot if he had taken the trouble to have formed one; the diction was necessarily familiar in a burlesque poem, and the age led him to the use of a few coarsenesses, fewer and less offensive than probably

any other poet of his day ; and the versification is of its kind so excellent as never to have been equalled by any writer, while a change to the heroic couplet, as Dryden would probably have recommended, would utterly have destroyed its life and character, as may partly be seen by his version in that measure of his 'Elephant in the Moon' from the shorter Hudibrastic verse in which it was first written.

Notwithstanding the high merits of the poem, there has never been a work that is so familiarly quoted and so little read as Hudibras. It is taken up occasionally it is true, a few pages are run through, the wit dazzles, the learning confuses, and the allusions to transitory circumstances distract all but the few who come properly prepared for the reading of a work that requires no common share of attention and knowledge to comprehend and relish. To a large proportion it will at first seem a violent attack on a party to whom, with all their defects, England owes much of its present liberty and character. This view has also been fostered by writers of each party : the royalist and churchman have claimed him as a partizan, and this is done by his chief editor Dr. Zachary Grey ; while the dissenter has deemed him a prejudiced and virulent adversary. Neither, we presume to think, have done him justice. By birth, education, and principle, Butler was no doubt a churchman and a royalist : but his ken was too wide, his knowledge of human nature too exact, his observation too acute, to suffer him to lower himself to mere party advocacy or personal satire. His objects were faults and vices : for these he certainly looked in preference to the party opposed to him, and who shall say that he did not find them ? who, even of that party, can object that, having been found, they should be scourged ? his own party are not spared whenever these defects are fairly brought before him, and except one panegyric on their loyalty there is no laudation. A thorough hatred of hypocrisy, affectation, and pretence, seems to have been the actuating feeling of Butler's mind, and he strips the mask with a bold and fearless hand wherever it is presented.

No absurdity escapes the shafts of his ridicule—Don Quixote and Davenant's Gondibert, the Iliad and the Eneid, Lilly and Empedocles, Pythagoras and Bishop Wilkins, Plato and Selden, are all treated in the same manner; yet it must be evident that a man of Butler's learning and taste must have enjoyed what was good in each with as great a zest as he would laugh at the idea which appeared to him carried to a ridiculous excess. But considering that his vehicle was ridicule, which is necessarily one-sided, it is remarkable how careful he has been to avoid and even to confound identification. He makes one of his characters, who bears a great resemblance to Lilburn, speak and act at the dissolution of the rump, at which time he was dead; as was also the case with Henderson, whom he describes as arguing with Charles the First in the Isle of Wight. With the spurious edition of his posthumous works was published a 'Key to Hudibras,' by Sir Roger l'Estrange, which it was said, and the opinion is adopted by Dr. Gray, would greatly add to the interest with which the poem was read. In this Hudibras is said to be Sir Samuel Luke; Ralph, one Isaac Robinson, a butcher in Moorfields; Crowdero, one Jackson, a milliner; Orsin, one Joshua Goslin, a bear-keeper, &c.; but we think no one who reads the poem can for a moment assent to such a proposition. They are clearly not individuals but representatives; and though some peculiarities which may have attached to Sir Samuel Luke may perhaps be reproduced in Hudibras, yet far more we venture to think might be found in almost any disputatious polemic of the day, and this not confined to the presbyterian sect; while it is absolute nonsense to suppose that Butler had no higher object than the personal ridicule of obscure milliners, bearwards, or butchers; or that he could attribute the downfall of the monarchy and the ruin of his favourite party to such paltry instruments.

Another cause of the comparative neglect of Hudibras has arisen from the theological character of many of the long dialogues between Hudibras and Ralph. We can scarcely embody to ourselves the deep interest which was felt in, and the vast excitement occasioned by, the dis-

cussion of the metaphysical questions, during the period of the civil wars, in which these two personages engage : the recollection was still vivid when the poem first appeared ; but fortunately, however, the acrimony has ceased : the subjects may still occasionally employ the thoughts of a few studious individuals, but the wildness and extravagance of the doctrines propounded have practically vanished, and are so far forgotten as to require an effort to recall, or a difficulty to believe in their being seriously entertained. In these controversies, however, Butler has invented nothing. Though it may not be logically fair to attribute to a sect the extreme opinions of an individual, there is nothing advanced which was not to be found in the writings of the time, however wicked or absurd the application or induction might be rendered. In his 'Remains' we have a more serious and charitable statement of his opinions on these matters than the nature of his poem would admit of :—"All reformations of religion seldom extend further than the mere opinions of men. The amendment of their lives and conversations are equally unregarded by all churches, how much soever they differ in doctrine and discipline. And though all the reformation our Saviour preached to the world was only repentance and amendment of life, without taking any notice at all of men's opinions and judgments ; yet all the Christian churches take the contrary course, and believe religion more concerned in our erroneous opinions than in all the most inhuman and impious actions in the world." The Roman Catholic Church itself was reformed by Luther's Reformation ; and we may well believe that dissent was sobered and bettered by the ridicule of Butler.

A third cause may possibly be found in the occasional coarsenesses to which we have already alluded. There are such, it is true ; but it is highly to his credit that in an age when, as he himself says, men

Now bring their crimes into the open sun
For all mankind to gaze their worst upon,

It is only in the expression that he fails, and in the later editions of the first two Parts he corrected many of these

before his death. The reader will find in him no incentives to vice, no tampering with crime, no leniency towards faults or foibles because found on his own side ; no tenderness for hypocrisy on account of rank or station ; no sparing of pretence or assumption even among men with whom he must have associated, and very likely esteemed, except for that particular defect.* He unfalteringly lays human nature bare : it is not a pleasing picture—it is sometimes harsh and severe—but it is inflexibly honest.

A confirmation of this view is afforded by Butler's Miscellaneous Works, in which he has taken a greater latitude than was afforded him by the nature of his work in his Hudibras : the vices of the court and the faults and foibles of the courtiers, as well as the various defects into which the fashions of the age precipitated men of literature and men of science, are all unsparingly castigated, though, as they contain many personalities, it is probable his good feeling prevented their being published during his life ; for, though not ill-natured, he may have been aware that his laugh could not have been pleasant to those with whom he associated, and he was contented to conceal the smile he could not altogether repress.

It has been remarked, also, that Butler's life was not in unison with the principles he professed ; that so warm a partisan as he appears in his works should not have lived in quiet submission to what he at least considered an unjust usurpation, or have consented to hold even a subordinate office under such a government. How he was to have served the cause he approved of we do not know : he was no soldier, indeed he seems to have had no very high opinion of fighting or fighters ; he had no public influence, nor were his writings, supposing they had been of the character of Hudibras, likely to acquire him any. He may have considered he did his duty best in his humble capacity by contributing his aid to the

* We allude to his repeated attacks on the members of the Royal Society, who it must be acknowledged were very unlucky at their commencement ; and it was only the *pretence* to superior knowledge that he ridiculed.

preservation of social order as far as he could ; and, like many others, submitted quietly to what he could not prevent, however he might lament. He has also shown a strong disgust to the busy interference of unqualified persons in political matters which they could not understand, and has strongly satirised the mobs of 'prentice boys who besieged and influenced the divisions of the House of Commons ; the women who presented petitions and remonstrances, and " the oyster women," who—

" Lock'd their fish up,
And trudg'd away to cry, ' No Bishop ! ' "

He may have been, we think he was, wrong in his estimate of the utility of general political discussion and feeling, and the wisdom residing in the " vox populi ; " we are more inclined to believe that no people deserve their freedom who are not eager to understand and willing to maintain it. At a period of great excitement the mass of the people must follow leaders, and the leaders of what for want of a better name was called the Puritan party, were worthy of the cause they supported, however it may have been disgraced or disfigured by some of its adherents. But this acknowledgment should not lead us to the injustice of insisting upon the same conviction in Butler, or to deny to him the right of triumphing when his side was successful, or to blind us to the spirit with which he has seized upon and depicted the errors of his adversaries, or to deny the truth of much of the vice and hypocrisy he has castigated. It would be worse than folly—it would be a crime—to imagine that such a man was actuated by any other than honest, even though in some degree mistaken, motives. He is, indeed, a man of whom his country may be justly proud ; and his reputation, though his works scarcely admit of translation, has been acknowledged throughout Europe.





WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE



SOME men are rather more indebted for their fame to the iniquities of their enemies, than to their own virtues and eminent abilities; and, after all that has been said and written about him, and with due consideration paid to his domestic worthiness, we cannot but be of opinion that such is the case with the much-famed subject of the present memoir.

Mr., or—by courtesy—Lord William Russell, was born in September, 1639, three years before the commencement of the war between Charles I. and his Parliament. His father was William, Fifth Earl of Bedford, who, however, did not succeed to the title and family estates until 1641; his mother was Lady Anne Carr, or Ker, daughter of the infamous Countess of Somerset, formerly Countess of Essex, who had instigated the foul murder of Sir Thomas Overbury in the Tower. But crime is not hereditary; and Lady Anne, like other persons descended from a bad stock, was a

gentle, virtuous, and very religious woman. According to a touching tradition, she was brought up in entire ignorance of the guilt of her parent, and her mother's sad history was mercifully and so carefully concealed from her, that she knew nothing whatever of it until she was well advanced in years, and the mother of a family. She had issue three daughters and seven sons, of whom Lord William was the third. At the first breaking out of the civil war, her husband, the Earl of Bedford, took the field against the king: he was appointed General of the Parliament's horse, and in the battle of Edge-Hill, fought on the 23rd of October, 1642, he commanded the body of reserve—"with great conduct and prowess"—say eulogistic biographers, as a matter of course, and without bearing in mind that the Parliament's reserve was not engaged on that day, the victory of Edge-Hill having been gained by the right wing, under Sir William Balfour, and the centre, or main body of the Parliamentarians, under the Earl of Essex (the first ill-used husband of the mother of the Earl of Bedford's wife, the good Lady Anne), who this day took vengeance on the court of Charles I. for many intolerable wrongs he had received from the court and minions of James I. But our Lord William's father, the Earl of Bedford, soon changed sides: he joined the king at Oxford in 1643, attended him to his very unfortunate siege of Gloucester, was afterwards present at the battle of Newbury, and then went again to Oxford. Neither as Parliamentarian, nor as Royalist, could the Earl of Bedford occupy a foremost place. He soon withdrew altogether from the actual contest, and lived retired and unnoticed. Like the great body, not only of the displaced Peers, but of the whole nation, the Earl heartily concurred in the restoration of Charles II., but this could give him no particular claim on royal gratitude; and Charles's gratitude appears at all times to have been an "absolute minimum" of that "infinitely little." Yet, in 1672, twelve years after the Restoration, when the king was wholly in the hands of the Cabal ministry, Lord Bedford was gratified with the order of the Garter. In the

meanwhile his son William had become a conspicuous member of the Lower House, though it was not until a little later, when the country was convulsed and driven mad by the so-called "Popish Plot," that his name was much bruited out of doors.

Lord William had been educated at Cambridge: he had afterwards resided at Augsburg, and had then spent a considerable time in foreign travel, or in residing in different Protestant States of the Continent, where his hatred and fear of Popery were notably increased. At the first general election after the Restoration in 1660, he had been returned for Tavistock. In 1669 he had married Rachel Wriothesly, second daughter of the Earl of Southampton—commonly called the *virtuous* Earl—and widow of Lord Vaughan, eldest son of Lord Carbery, "a woman," says a recent writer, "distinguished for ardent and tender affection, pious, reflecting, firm, and courageous; alike exemplary in prosperity and adversity, when observed by multitudes or hidden in retirement."*

With this excellent mate Lord William passed much of his time in that domestic retirement for which he seems, by nature, to have been best fitted: for his virtues were mostly of the quiet, fire-side sort; he was not a man of action, and, though he had many amiable, he had no brilliant or commanding qualities. All this is made sufficiently apparent by his political conduct throughout, and by his behaviour on his trial, in the Tower, and on the scaffold; and nearly as much as this is admitted by his contemporary admirers and biographers. Indeed, intellectual mediocrity appears to have been the badge of all the Russells, for a good many generations: it is only in our own day that a member of that otherwise favoured family has really occupied a post at the head of a party or in the van of a ministry. Of Lord William, Bishop Burnet says—"He quickly got out of some of the disorders into which the court had drawn him; and ever after that his life was unblemished in all

* Penny Cyclopædia. Art., Russell, Lord William.

respects. He had from his first education an inclination to favour the nonconformists, and wished the laws could have been made easier to them, or they more pliant to the law. *He was a slow man and of little discourse*; but he had a true judgment when he considered things at his own leisure. His understanding was not defective; but his virtues were so eminent that they would have more than balanced real defects, if any had been found in the other."

The principal men of the party with whom Lord William acted in the House of Commons were, Lord Cavendish, Sir William Coventry, Colonel Birch, Mr. Powle, and Mr. Littleton, who were all eager to close Charles's second Dutch war, (which had been begun from no higher motive than that of gratifying France, whose pensioner our king then was;) to check the high-flying papistry of James Duke of York, and to put limits to the wasteful extravagance and daring licentiousness of the court. By steady, persevering attacks, and by their constant appeals to that strongest passion of the people, the dread of Popery, they carried the Test Act, which drove the Duke of York from his post of Lord High Admiral, and disqualified all Catholics for State employments, or service in army or navy; they stopped the supplies for the unpopular Dutch war; they forced the king to perjure his soul by vows and declarations that he had no secret treaties with Louis XIV., and that he was anxious, above all things, for the preservation of the Protestant Church; and, finally, towards the close of the year 1673, they drove the Cabal ministry from power, enlisting, shortly afterwards, in their own opposition ranks, the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Shaftesbury, who had formed the main strength and had been the real heads of the Cabal. From this moment the versatile, plotting, unscrupulous, and indefatigable Shaftesbury led the opposition—and rugged and most foul, filthy and foul with human blood, were many of the roads and by-paths into which he conducted them. The Danby cabinet, which immediately succeeded the Cabal, was, in many respects, more infamous than its predecessor. After seeing the flag of England shamefully humbled at sea,

these new ministers made a hurried and hollow peace with the Dutch, at the same time engaging to seize the earliest opportunity for playing into the hands of Louis XIV., who was aiming at the conquest of Holland, and taking earnest-money from him, for the use of their spendthrift master. Shaftesbury, Buckingham, and the whole phalanx of opposition (of whom not a few are said to have been animated by timely donations of Dutch money), grew loud in their denunciations of this Danby ministry: and as Shaftesbury conceived that the nation could be roused from its indifference or lethargy only by its religious fears, ominous hints were let drop of Popish conspiracies and designs more desperate than the Gunpowder Plot; days of fasting and prayer were called for in Parliament, and, out of doors, recourse was had to nearly every possible means for creating a panic and an irresistible popular fury. Some of the parts had been distributed, and some of the instruments tuned before; but this—in the year 1674—was the real overture to the horrible drama of the ‘Popish Plot’ which began to be played in 1678, and which did not finish until 1681. Nothing more certain than that the fear and fanaticism of the popular masses were thoroughly sincere, and based on an entire conviction that the Catholics were plotting the destruction of their religion, laws, liberties, lives: nothing more probable than that even but few members of the opposition, though acting with him, and being frequently closeted with him, were admitted into the Machiavellian arcana of the subtle Shaftesbury, or were induced to believe or even to suspect that he had invented and created the stupendous bugbear merely for political, if not for mere party, purposes. No doubt the great majority of those men who voted away lives in Parliament, or on juries, shared in the popular terror and the general conviction. When the monster was fully established in his pride of place, erect, on a broad and lofty pedestal, which had its roots in the very hearts of the people, there was disgrace, there was danger in questioning whence he came, and what was his real nature. The king, who was never for a single moment deceived by its grim and bloody aspect, durst not,

for years, express his disbelief, or interpose his prerogative of mercy to save the victims offered up to the idol. Yet, assuredly, many men of eminent stations, who had the advantages of education and a knowledge of the world ; who were about court, and city, and parliament ; who had the means of knowing the infamous characters of the witnesses ; and who saw and heard with their own eyes and ears the contradictory and monstrously absurd evidence that was brought in, and altered from day to day, to substantiate the plot or plots, might, at an early stage of the proceedings, have moderated their zeal, and have come to the same conclusion as the king. With every allowance made for times and circumstances, and the contagious nature of suspicions, and fears, and panics, it yet seems to us that the zealots of this last class can be relieved from the imputations of wilfulness and hardness of heart, only at the expense of their wit and understanding. In the front line of these men, from first to last, stood William Lord Russell, of whose *sincerity* no doubt can be rationally entertained. At the beginning of the session of 1678, when Charles II., who by the advice of his Parliament had concluded a treaty offensive and defensive with the Dutch, asked for the supplies necessary for fitting out a fleet and army, his lordship inveighed in the House of Commons against the dangers of Popery and a standing army, and declared that the nation was in danger from the secret machinations of the Papists. In the autumn of that same year Dr. Tonge, the execrable **TITUS OATES**, and other plot-fabricators, entered upon the stage, and completed the blindness and madness of the people. Then closely followed the mysterious murder of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey ;—and then, all Protestants, clergy or laity, conformists or nonconformists, royalists or republicans, of the court party or of the country party, considered their lives in imminent danger. Parliament called before them Titus Oates, who never appeared without making copious additions to his original tale ; they arbitrarily committed the Catholic Lords Stafford, Powis, Petre, Arundel, and Bellasis to the Tower ; they crammed the common prisons with Papists ;

they carried consternation, grief, agony, despair, into every family that professed or were *suspected* of leaning to the old religion; they declared "that there hath been, and still is, a damnable and hellish plot, contrived and carried on by the Popish recusants, for assassinating the king, for subverting the government, and for rooting out and destroying the Protestant religion;" they proclaimed the great 'Titus the Saver of the Nation, and obtained for him a pension of 1200*l.* a year, and a lodging in the palace of Whitehall. There has been many a Reign of Terror, besides the Robespierrian: this was one for the Catholics of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

The wondrous success of Titus Oates roused the envy of many, and brought upon the stage a still more exquisite villain, in the person of William Bedloe, a regular gaol-bird, a swindler, and a convicted thief, who had only recently been liberated from Newgate. This man's character was notorious, the depositions he made were contradictory, and altogether incredible to dispassionate minds; yet whatever he swore was received as Gospel truth. Upon such evidence ultra-Protestant juries returned rapid verdicts of guilty,—Scroggs, the brutal chief justice, told the jurors that they had "done like very good subjects, and very good Christians, that is to say, like very good Protestants,"—and the victims were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn. Some of the impious wits about court, like Tom Killigrew, made jokes on the reigning credulity and terror; but no effort was made on the side of humanity and justice; not a hand was put forth to save the lives which were so scandalously sacrificed. Unwilling witnesses were put to the torture; every imaginable foul trick was resorted to, in order to procure evidence, or to make it agree with the concerted depositions of Oates and Bedloe. Both Houses of Parliament urged on the proceedings, and congratulated Scroggs on his rapid despatch of the treason trials. "A strong faith in the plot was the test of all political merit; not to believe was to be a political reprobate; and according to the zeal was the cruelty of the times. The terror excited by the plot had caused such a thirst

of revenge that nothing but blood could satiate ; every supposed criminal was pre-condemned ; and, no sooner did the victim appear, but the people called out for the sacrifice : pity was looked upon not only as impertinent, but almost as criminal ; and even the great prerogative of mercy lodged in the crown was of no use.”* After the sacrifice of obscurer victims, the Commons turned to the five Catholic Lords who were imprisoned in the Tower ; and the aged Lord Stafford, one of the number, was brought to trial before his peers. The witnesses against him were Oates, Dugdale, and Tuberville. Stafford made an excellent defence, and produced witnesses who proved discrepancies, flat contradictions, and palpable perjury in the evidence of his accusers ; yet the Lords found him guilty by a majority of 55 to 31. The king, who had been present at the trial, and who was thoroughly convinced that Stafford was as innocent of the imputed treason as an unborn child, yet signed the death-warrant, with no other mitigation than that he should be simply beheaded. The ultra-Whig sheriffs of London (Bethell and Cornish) questioned, among other things, whether the king had the power to alter the sentence of the Lords, which included or implied all the horrid formalities of hanging, bowelling, drawing, quartering, &c.; and they applied to the two Houses. In the Commons many declared that, though the royal prerogative included the power of granting respite or pardon, it did not include the lesser power of mitigating the pains of death ; and that, as the Earl of Stafford had been sentenced to die as a traitor, he must suffer the manner of death which the law provided in such cases. Lord William Russell entertained these opinions. But the king was firm ; and the Lords assured the sheriffs that their scruples were unnecessary, and that the king’s warrant ought to be obeyed. And, accordingly, the aged nobleman was simply *decapitated* upon Tower Hill.

While these events were in progress the Whig party set up the young, profligate, heartless, and headless Duke

* Ralph.

of Monmouth, the eldest of Charles's many illegitimate children, as a head of their party, as a hero and champion for civil and religious liberty ; impelled him to the very verge of insurrection and rebellion, and moved for the exclusion from the succession, and for the banishment from England, of James Duke of York. On the 26th of October, 1680, Lord William Russell carried a motion " that the House should take into consideration how to suppress Popery, and prevent a Popish successor ;" on the 2nd of November, the Exclusion Bill against the Duke of York was introduced ; and it was reported on the 8th. The king, who however would have sold his brother for an immediate grant of 600,000*l.*, tried to divert the storm ; but the bill passed the Commons on the 11th of November, and on the 15th Lord Russell, escorted by the Exclusionists, carried it to the Upper House. There the king was present at the debate, and personally solicited the peers, who threw out the bill by a majority of 63 to 30. The House of Commons then withheld the supplies, and assailed the embarrassed and beggared court with various bills, for banishing " the most considerable Papists ;" for getting up a Protestant Association against Popery and a Popish Successor, &c. These bills were followed up by a remonstrance, in which the Commons required his majesty's unconditional assent to the exclusion of his brother. On the 7th of January, 1681, Charles, by message, told the Commons that he never could consent to the Bill of Exclusion, and that immediate supplies were indispensable. This message threw the House into a fury. Lord Russell, his relative Lord Cavendish, Mr. Montague, Sir Henry Capel, Mr. Hampden, Colonel Titus, and others, moved and carried, in a series of votes, that no supply should be granted without the bill for excluding the Duke of York ; that the Earl of Halifax and other ministers were promoters of Popery, &c. ; and that whosoever should lend the king money on security of the revenues of the state, or accept or buy any tally in anticipation, should be held guilty of hindering the sitting of parliament, and be made responsible for the same in par-

liament. That very night Charles made up his mind to dissolve this parliament; and, to take the Commons by surprise, he stole into the House of Lords at an early hour on the following morning. But the Commons got notice, and in one short quarter of an hour they tumultuously voted that those who attempted to defeat the Exclusion Bill were traitors sold to France; that the Papists were the authors of the great Fire of London; that the Duke of Monmouth had been deprived of his offices through the Duke of York, and ought to be restored to them; that the city of London had merited the thanks of the House; that the infliction of the penal laws upon Protestant dissenters was giving encouragement to Popery. Charles prorogued the parliament, and a few days after dissolved it by proclamation, appointing the new parliament to meet not at Westminster, but in the very loyal city of Oxford. Both Whigs and Tories went to Oxford as if they were going to a battle; the king was surrounded by his guards of horse and foot, and the Exclusionists by hosts of friends, servants, and armed retainers. In the Lower House the Whigs had the better of the Tories, and this parliament was more refractory than the old "pensioned parliament," which had been dissolved, urging with increasing violence for the Exclusion Bill, and for the banishment of all the leading Papists. When it had sat a week at Oxford Charles dissolved it, and resolved never more to call another.

From this moment the Constitution was in abeyance, and the king governed despotically. The Duke of York, whose nature was incapable of forgiveness, nourished a deadly hatred to Lord Russell for the part he had taken in the Exclusion Bill; and he bided his time for the opportunity of a sanguinary vengeance. Shaftesbury was committed to the Tower upon a charge of instigating insurrection; and two Londoners, who had great influence among the poorer class of citizens,—Stephen College, a joiner, commonly called from his zeal against Popery, "the Protestant joiner;" and John Rouse, described as "a Wapping follower of my Lord Shaftesbury,"—were made fast. The Court expected to get evidence from

these poor men against the "great driver;" but they were disappointed. Among the witnesses against the two prisoners were the infamous Dugdale and others, who had been believed when they swore away the lives of Papists, but who now found no credit before Protestant and Whiggish juries. The grand jury threw out the bills of indictment. Rouse escaped; but as College was charged with treasons committed in Oxfordshire as well as in Middlesex, he was sent down to trial at the assizes in Oxford, "*because the inhabitants of that city were more in the interest of the Court.*" And there, upon evidence which the grand jury at London had rejected, the poor "Protestant joiner" was condemned and executed as a traitor, for having accused the king of tyranny and popery, and conspired to seize his person during the sitting of the late parliament at Oxford. The gowned men of that university, who were all for the Divine Right of Kings, and for the Duke of York's inalienable claim to the succession, had scarcely done shouting for the sentence and bloody execution of Rouse, when the Londoners raised a louder and longer shout of joy for the acquittal of the Earl of Shaftesbury. In spite of hired Irish witnesses, and of all the resources of the Court, the grand jury ignored the Bill, and Shaftesbury once more stepped out of the Tower a free man.

Charles now entertained the most violent animosity against popular Whig Sheriffs, who could always return popular juries; and he began to mature his project for depriving the City of London of its charter, being aided and driven on by the Duke of York. With the concurrence of his political friends, Shaftesbury drew closer the Whig alliance with the Duke of Monmouth; and that rash and incompetent young man returned from Holland in defiance of his father's orders. The Protestant Duke was received in triumph, and was induced to make a progress through the kingdom in royal state. He was followed by a retinue of a hundred or more persons all armed. In many places he was treated like a king or heir-apparent; and the whigs now maintained that he was in fact the king's lawfully begotten son, forasmuch

as there had been a marriage-contract between his mother, Lucy Walters, and Charles. Lord Russell, Lord Macclesfield, Lord Grey, and many others of the Whig nobility and gentry, met Monmouth at the head of their tenants; and, as the ancient manners of England were not yet laid aside, most of those who came to meet him were armed. Few things short of insurrection could well look more like one. At Liverpool, Monmouth even ventured to touch for the king's evil. The bells were rung, bonfires made, and volleys of fire-arms discharged wherever he went. At last he was arrested at Strafford, and brought up to London. But as soon as he reached the capital he was admitted to bail. His bail were Lords Russell, Grey, and others of that party. The king and the Court had long complained that they could have no chance at law so long as the city was allowed to appoint Whig sheriffs. Emboldened by passive obedience addresses which came up in shoals from the universities, counties, and Tory boroughs, and by the evident disagreement, consternation, and despondency of the Whigs, and encouraged by the supple character of Sir John Moore, the then Lord Mayor, they resolved to get these important appointments, with the selection of juries, into their own hands. And this was speedily done: the king named two determined Tories, Dudley North, and Rich; and in spite of remonstrances they were illegally thrust into the offices of Sheriffs of London and Middlesex. After this the Court had no reason to complain of not getting verdicts in its favour: the Tory sheriffs packed Tory juries; and no Whig or Exclusionist could any longer have a chance of an impartial trial any more than the Papists had had in the time of Whig sheriffs and Whig juries. The tables were reversed: one standing and glaring injustice succeeded to another; but the Whigs had upheld the abstract principles of a free Constitution, and the Tories now seemed bent upon uprooting the Constitution altogether, in order to lay the country prostrate at the feet of an unprincipled, faithless sensualist, and a narrow-minded bigot. Shaftesbury now felt that his neck was in danger, and that nothing less was intended than the

gradual but entire destruction of the leaders of the Whig party. He withdrew to his house in Aldersgate-street, and called around him all the disaffected and desperate people in the city, still hoping to make good the boast he had made years ago, "that he would walk the king leisurely out of his dominions, and make the Duke of York a vagabond upon the earth like Cain ;"*—or, failing in this, at least, to manage matters in such a way that he and his party should not perish without a blow. He concerted measures with Lord Russell, Russell's infamous kinsman Lord Howard, the equally infamous Lord Grey, Lord Essex, Mr. Hampden, and the enthusiastic Algernon Sidney. But these men neither agreed as to their ultimate end, nor as to the means by which the end was to be brought about ; and it seems at the least probable that Shaftesbury concealed the most daring part of his projects from some of them. The extremes were represented by Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney: Russell was for gentle remedies—for a correction of the constitutional monarchy by lawful means ; for the utter extirpation of Popery, and for the establishment of one national church, which, if not Presbyterian, would have been very like it. Sidney was undisguisedly for the entire destruction of royalty ; for the re-establishment of his darling Commonwealth, and for the widest and most perfect toleration, to include the Catholics and all sects and denominations of men, without any state church or privileged clergy whatsoever.

Some of those admitted into the conclave in Aldersgate Street, or in more secret parts of the city, though military men by long training and profession, shrunk from the notion of a recourse to arms, even while they admitted that there was no hope to be put in the law, and that the Papistry and tyranny of the court justified an armed resistance. Shaftesbury, though no fighting man, had more boldness and resoluteness than any of them, or than all of them put together : he laughed to scorn the doctrines of passive obedience to the King, of Divine Right, which the universities and the whole

* Pictorial History of England.

body of the established church were then laboriously preaching; and he still spoke confidently of "the ten thousand brisk boys" to be raised in the City and Tower Hamlets. Doubts may very rationally be entertained whether half of those who deliberated with him were prepared to go the lengths he proposed; but no doubt can exist that he and some of his friends contemplated an immediate armed insurrection, any more than that his bold intent was over-ruled and no overt act of treason committed.

Some of those engaged with him, so soon as they could do so with safety, openly proclaimed that their intention had been to destroy a Papistical and tyrannical government and dynasty by force of arms. At last Shaftesbury, disappointed in his expectations, despairing at the want of concert and spirit among his friends, and dreading to be betrayed either purposely or by imbecility into the hands of his enemies, threw up the game as lost, fled to Holland, and, about six weeks after his flight, died, at Amsterdam, with rage in his heart and gout in his stomach. His flight and death left his party without heart or intellect—left the chiefs of it to be led like sheep to the shambles. The classical republicanism of Algernon Sidney was out of time and place, and impracticable; and the great caution and respect for laws and formulas of Lord Russell could neither carry on a revolution nor protect a party who had engaged so far in revolutionary measures. Generally, the loss of the veteran Whig carried despair to the hearts of his party: many resigned themselves to what seemed a destiny; while some few, perhaps, rushed into mad and sanguinary schemes of their own devising. That the respectable Lord Russell had ever any connexion or correspondence with plebeians, salters, maltsters, joiners, pettifoggers, and desperadoes, is wholly incredible; but the Duke of York thirsted for his blood, and he had been so closely connected with or dependent upon Shaftesbury, whose flight was interpreted into a confession of treasonable guilt, that he himself stood convicted in the eyes of the king and of the whole Tory party. In 1679, when the

House of Commons forced upon Charles what was to be a permanent council of thirty members—fifteen, the chief officers of state and of the household, ten other members of the House of Lords, and five selected from the House of Commons—Shaftesbury was made its president, and Shaftesbury brought in Lord Russell and his relation Lord Cavendish; and when Shaftesbury was dismissed from his office of president, an event which soon took place, Lord Russell and Lord Cavendish resigned, by his (Shaftesbury's) advice. In the Popish plot Russell had even gone beyond Shaftesbury, the "great driver." In secret consultations with ambassadors and non-accredited envoys from France, and from Holland (these consultations having for their object the direct or indirect assistance of foreign powers to the Whig party), Russell had been, at the least, as forward and active as Shaftesbury. In short, though the private characters and some of the views of these two noblemen were very different, there had been throughout the closest political union between them; and Lord Russell's enemies, out of malice, and partly, perhaps, out of inward conviction, held his conduct to be identical with that of the fugitive earl. The Duke of York hated him with a most rancorous hatred; and the king and his vicious court both disliked and feared him,—the dislike arising from his religious virtuous life, the fear from the great strength he gave to the popular cause, and from the influence he possessed in the country. Bishop Burnet says,—“I never knew any man have so entire credit with the nation as he had.” In these abominable times no triumphant party that could reward perjury or treachery had far to seek for false witnesses or informers. On the 12th of June, 1683. about six months after Shaftesbury's evasion, Josiah Keyling, a salter, and formerly a flaming Whig, waited upon the Duke of York's favourite, Lord Dartmouth, and informed him that there was a terrible plot on foot against the King's life. Being told that a second witness would be necessary, Keyling went away and made a witness of his brother. Other evidence was procured, as it was asked for; and

in a short time the plot, so well known in history by the name of "The Rye-house Plot," was disclosed to the half wondering and half incredulous world. It seems undeniable that there had been many meetings of disaffected persons of the middling or poorer classes, and that Rumbold, a maltster, Hone, a joiner, Helby, a carver, West, a poor attorney, and a few others, had occasionally discussed desperate projects, involving the death of the king. Charles Fox, who was disposed to take the least unfavourable view of the matter, says,—“Of this plot it may be said, much more truly than of the Popish, that there was in it some truth mixed with much falsehood; and, though many circumstances in Keyling’s account are nearly as absurd and ridiculous as those in Oates’s, it seems probable that there was among some of those accused, a notion of assassinating the king; but whether this notion was ever ripened into what may be called a design, and much more, whether it was ever evinced by such an overt act as the law requires for conviction, is very doubtful. In regard to the conspirators of higher ranks, from whom all suspicion of participation has been long done away, there is unquestionably reason to believe that they had often met and consulted, as well for the purpose of ascertaining the means they actually possessed, as for that of devising others for delivering their country from the dreadful servitude into which it had fallen; and thus far their conduct appears clearly to have been laudable.”

On the 26th of June warrants were issued for the apprehension of the Duke of Monmouth, Lord Russell, Lord Grey, Sir Thomas Armstrong, and others. The contemptible Monmouth, although he had already betrayed many of the secrets of the Exclusionists in order to screen himself, was either alarmed at the proclamation or warned by the king to get out of the way; he immediately absconded, thus displaying, as in all other crises, an ungenerous disregard for the fate of his friends. Russell was the first of the noblemen that was secured; he was arrested by a messenger, while sitting tranquilly in his study. As soon as he was in custody he gave up

all hopes of life, knowing how obnoxious he was to the Duke of York. In the first instance, he was carried before the Privy Council, where many ensnaring questions were put to him, in order that his answers might be cited on his trial as evidence against him. This iniquitous procedure was common in those days; and the Whigs had resorted to it while driving on the Popish plot. According to the Tories, Lord Russell's behaviour before the king and council was weak, confused, and undignified;* according to the Whigs, it was not very firm, but still generous and high-minded with regard to his friends; and there is good evidence to establish the honourable fact that he refused to answer anything that might affect others. After this examination he was committed to the Tower. He said that "he was sworn against, and they would have his life." His faithful servant hoped that matters were not so desperate; but his lordship rejoined, "Yes! the devil has broke loose." Lord Grey, when at the very gate of the Tower, effected his escape from the messenger or serjeant who had him in charge, and fled into Holland. In consequence of some fresh depositions, or rather, as is shrewdly suspected, in consequence of the conviction entertained by government that that unprincipled base man would offer evidence against his relative Lord Russell, and the other noble prisoners, Lord Howard of Escrick, who had captivated Algernon Sidney with enthusiastic professions of republicanism, was arrested at Knightsbridge, and carried before the council, where he offered to confess in private to the king and the Duke of York. The private audience was granted to the caitiff, and then he not only inculpated Russell, but made revelations against others; for, immediately after the audience, warrants were issued for the arrest of the Earl of Essex, Algernon Sidney, and Hampden. Lord Essex was seized by a party of horse at his pleasant house at Cassiobury, was brought up to London and safely lodged in the dismal state prison. Algernon Sidney, and Hampden, the grandson

* Roger North.

of the patriot who had perished in the late civil war, were secured with equal ease. Three of "the conspirators of the lower form," as Evelyn calls them, were forthwith tried and convicted by a well-chosen Tory jury; but they were not executed until the day before the execution of Lord Russell. That fore-doomed nobleman was brought to trial at the Old Bailey, on the 13th of July, for conspiring the death of the king, and consulting how to levy war against him. His lordship desired the postponement of his trial until the afternoon, or the next day, because some of his witnesses had not had time to arrive in town, and some mistake had been committed in furnishing the list of the jurymen. "You," cried the attorney-general, Sir Robert Sawyer, "would not have given the king an hour's notice for saving his life—the trial must proceed." Russell asked for the use of pen, ink, and paper, and for permission to use such papers as he had with him; and these requests being granted, he, wishing to have notes of the evidence taken, asked whether he might have somebody to write for him, to help his memory. The attorney-general replied, "Yes, a servant;" and the chief justice, Pemberton, added, "Any of your servants shall assist you in writing anything you please for you." "My lord," said Russell, "my wife is here to do it." And when the spectators beheld the devoted lady, the daughter of the virtuous Earl of Southampton, rising up to assist her lord in this, his uttermost distress, a thrill of admiration and anguish ran through the assembly. The trial went on with indecent rapidity; and Lady Russell sat, with the pen in her hand, now writing what he wished to have written, and now looking wistfully at her beloved husband. Mr. Serjeant Jeffreys, whose bold, uncompromising villany and indisputable energy and ability were carrying him swiftly along the high tide of promotion and court favour, behaved discourteously to the noble prisoner, and displayed great skill in examining, and cross-examining, and ensnaring some of the witnesses. As for the ignoble Howard of Eserick, who was brought in as one of the witnesses, he stood in need

of no prompter, nor was it necessary to make any attempt at ensnaring him; for he had his pre-concerted story by heart, and was quite ready to swear away, in a consistent manner, the life of his relation. The attorney-general, after Lord Howard had been sworn, said to him, "Pray, will your lordship give an account to the court, what you know of a rising, designed before my Lord Shaftesbury went away, and afterwards how it was continued on?" Howard assented, but he had not proceeded far in his narrative when his voice faltered so much that the jury could not hear, and the lord chief-justice said, "Pray, my lord, raise your voice, else your evidence will pass for nothing." Then Howard, probably with sincere emotion, announced a horrible fact. "There is," said he, "an unhappy accident which hath sunk my voice: I was but just now acquainted with the fate of my Lord of Essex." Instantly a murmur ran through the court that the noble Essex had committed suicide in the Tower. According to the Tories, the news of the awful catastrophe came into court as the air at the doors, and neither direct nor indirect use was made of it to affect the prisoner at the bar: but the Whigs maintained that the news was studiously brought in at a fixed moment, and the report of the trial, even as it was published by government, unquestionably proves that the lawyers for the crown made all the use they could of the incident to the prejudice of the prisoner. "My Lord Russell," said the attorney-general, "was one of the council for carrying on the plot with the Earl of Essex, who hath this morning prevented the hand of justice upon himself:" and Jeffreys brutally said, "Who should think that the Earl of Essex, who had been so much advanced in his estate and honour, should be guilty of such desperate things; which, had he not been conscious of, he would scarce have brought himself to this untimely end to avoid the methods of public justice." Whether Essex really destroyed himself, in one of his habitual fits of despondency, or was murdered in his dungeon, is still considered by many as an historical doubt. We cannot enter into that discussion;

nor can we, in a brief memoir like the present, go into any further details of the trial of Lord Russell. The sample of it which we have given, with the preceding remarks upon the character and temper of juries, will have sufficiently convinced the reader that nothing like an approach to impartial justice was to be expected. The evidence against his lordship, after all the pains and the unfair processes which had been employed upon it, was contradictory and insufficient. Even taking the most serious parts of the evidence as truth, they proved little more than this—that his lordship had attended a meeting in the city, before Shaftesbury's flight, where a general rising was spoken of, and where there was some discourse of the feasableness of surprising and seizing the king's guard at Whitehall. It was not shown that he consented to either of these schemes, which, certainly, were never carried into effect, or even followed by any overt act whatsoever. An illegal construction was put on the 25th of Edward III., the statute under which he was indicted. But, in the nomination of the panel, the sheriffs, who were the creatures of the court, had fully secured his conviction. He was found guilty of high treason, and the atrocious sentence provided in such cases was pronounced by the Recorder of London, Treby, who had formerly been an Exclusionist himself, and deeply engaged with Lord Shaftesbury in his city cabals and plots,—“That you be carried back again to the place from whence you came, and from thence be drawn upon a hurdle to the place of execution, where you shall be hanged up by the neck, but cut down alive, your entrails and privy members cut off from your body, and burned in your sight, your head to be then severed from your body, and your body divided into four parts, and disposed at the king's pleasure. And the Lord have mercy upon your soul.”

Many and strenuous efforts were made to save the condemned life. On the trial the old Earl of Anglesey, Lord Cavendish, Lord Clifford, the Duke of Somerset, Dr. Tillotson, Dr. Burnet, and others, had borne testimony to the excellence of Russell's private character, to

his great worth and probity, to his quiet, virtuous, sober life, and consequently to the improbability of his having ever been engaged in assassination plots; but his good character had been turned against him by the king's counsel, who said, there could not be any more dangerous enemies to the state than such as came sober to endeavour its destruction. The same reasoning obtained, after sentence, at Whitehall. If Russell had been less virtuous, less sober and exemplary in private life, less popular thereby, and less the idol of his party—if he had been a discredited, vicious man, like Howard of Escrick, who had turned king's evidence, or like the Lord Grey, who had escaped, his life would have been made a means of enriching a court prostitute, and a pardon would have been sold. His father, the Earl of Bedford, offered 100,000*l.* to the king, through his French mistress, the Duchess of Portsmouth; but Charles (it is said by the advice of his brother James) refused the tempting offer. The earl, then, in a more direct and public manner, told his sovereign, in an affecting petition, that he should think himself and wife and children much happier to be left but with bread and water, than to lose his dearest son William for so foul a crime as treason; and he prayed God to incline his majesty's heart to the prayers of an afflicted old father, and not bring his grey hairs with sorrow to the grave. But, after resisting the earl's money, Charles was not likely to be moved by his prayers. It appears indeed quite certain that the king was afraid of his condemned captive. When Lord Dartmouth represented to him that some regard was due to Lord Southampton's daughter and her children,—that to pardon Lord Russell would lay an eternal obligation on a very great family, while the taking of his life would never be forgiven,—Charles replied, "All that is true; but it is as true that if I do not take his life he will soon have mine." At the prayer of his sad old father and loving wife, Lord Russell himself petitioned the king, solemnly disclaiming the least thought against his majesty's life, or the least design to change the monarchical constitution; and offering, if his life were spared,

to spend the remainder of it wherever his majesty might appoint, far from public life and politics, with which he would never meddle more. At the intreaties of his wife he even wrote a letter to the Duke of York, who had never yet been known to pardon an injury. He assured his royal highness that he had never entertained any personal malice against him ; that in voting for the Bill of Exclusion he had followed the imperative dictates of his conscience ; but that, if the duke would interfere on his behalf, he would engage never more to oppose him. The letter was presented to the Duchess of York by Lady Russell herself ; but it produced not the least effect. Certain divines flattered Lord Russell that he might still save his life if he would disavow his political principles, and acknowledge in writing that he believed the subject had in no case any right to resist the sovereign by divine right on the throne. He replied—" I can have no conception of a people under a limited monarchy who have not a right to defend their own limitations : my conscience will not permit me to say otherwise to the king. Upon your hypothesis, I do not see a difference between a legal government and a Turkish despotism. After the total subversion of liberty it is too late to resist." Dr. Burnet, however, who was not then so thoroughly a Whig as he became after the Revolution of 1688, when it was both safe and profitable to be so, undertook to convert his lordship to the creed of passive obedience. The doctor even flattered himself that he had made a convert of him ; and, with his usual bustling self-confidence, he imparted his fancied success to Dr. Tillotson, then dean of Canterbury. The dean hastened to communicate with Lord Halifax, and Lord Halifax with the king ; but when he waited upon Lord Russell he found that Burnet had misled him, that his lordship was still firm in his Whig principles, and that the most he could extract from him was, that he hoped he should be pardoned in another world, if he was in error, in this, as to political matters. Dr. Tillotson, apparently with some reluctance, administered the sacrament to him, but the evening before his execution this churchman wrote, and himself delivered

to his lordship, a remarkable letter, which in after times he must have wished the world to forget, reasserting that resistance to kingly authority was contrary to the general doctrine of Protestants, and warning Russell that he was about leaving the world in a delusive and false peace, to the hindrance of his eternal happiness. "In a churchman of the church of Rome," says a recent writer, "this would be called priestcraft;"* and with all our respect for the good conduct which he displayed after the Revolution, we cannot away with the thought that at this moment Tillotson was thinking more of fortifying the prevailing dogma of the high church than of saving the life of Lord Russell, or of comforting him in his death.

On the evening of the 20th of July, Russell took leave of his young children and of his high-minded wife; and when he had so done, he said, "Now the bitterness of death is passed." On the morning of the morrow, the 21st of July, 1683, he was led to the scaffold, which was erected in Lincoln's Inn Fields, "in order that the citizens might be humbled by the spectacle of their once triumphant leader carried in his coach to death through the city."† The king had ordered that he should be simply decapitated, remarking, with a retrospective and vindictive sneer, that Lord Russell should see that it was in his prerogative and power to mitigate the treason sentence, although he had doubted it in the case of Lord Stafford. On the scaffold Russell was attended by Tillotson and Burnet, and, while Tillotson prayed, Burnet held the pen to record his lordship's last words. It took two or three clumsy strokes of the executioner to sever his head; but he died with great meekness and piety; and the shedding of his blood contributed in no slight degree to forward the revolution of 1688, with the expulsion of James and of the whole unworthy dynasty of the Stuarts.

We have mentioned that Lord Russell, like Shaftes-

* Wallace. Continuation of Sir James Mackintosh's Hist. Eng.

† Dalrymple.

bury and the rest of the Whig party, sought assistance from the French as well as from the Dutch. The Whigs, in fact, treated with the envoys of either of these two powers, now with the one and now with the other, according to the changes in political affairs, or to the caprices and shifting policy of Charles II. It must always be nationally dishonouring, and it may often be dangerous, for patriots to enter into such negotiations; but the glorious revolution of 1688, as it is still called, was not undertaken without an armed foreign aid; and for an armed interference Lord Russell and his friends never asked. It should appear, however, that some of them received money from the Dutch and French alternately, partly for their own use, and in part for influencing the votes of members of that pensioned Parliament, which was so thoroughly corrupt and selfish, that little could be done in it, either for good or for evil, without bribery. M. de Rouvigny, a French Huguenot or Protestant nobleman, who conducted some of the negotiations with the English Whigs for Louis XIV., was maternal uncle to Lady Russell; and through this relationship he seems first to have opened his projects to Lord William. The scheme was simply this. The Whigs in 1678 were to prevent Charles from declaring war against Louis by stopping supplies; and Louis was to furnish the Whigs with money in order that they might secure a steady majority. Yet when de Rouvigny opened his plan to his lordship, Russell is said to have replied, "I should be very sorry to have any commerce with persons capable of being gained by money." And M. Barillon, who continued the negotiations, and who charged the French court with large disbursements to the English patriots, is said to have declared that he never durst speak of money to Lord Russell. In spite of the papers discovered by Sir John Dalrymple, in the archives at Versailles, these secret transactions, or the now generally received accounts of them, are still open to doubt and rational controversy. Lord Russell's character was never mean or mercenary, nor did his fortune stand in need of occasional donations of 300 or 400

French louis d'or; and although we would not venture to say so much of some of the public men who are set down by Barillon as having received money from him, we are inclined to believe that if Algernon Sidney and Mr. Hampden touched the French money it was not for their own use.

When William and Mary were put upon the British throne the house of Russell was rewarded by high employments and an augmentation of honours; the Earl of Bedford became duke, and the act for annulling Lord William's attainder recited that "he was by undue and illegal return of jurors, having been refused his lawful challenge to the said jurors, and by partial and unjust construction of law, wrongfully convicted, attainted, and executed for high treason."

Those of our readers who would fully examine this subject may be referred to the life of his ancestor written by the present Lord John Russell; to Benjamin Wiffen's History of the House of Russell; to Mr. Fox's Introduction to his unfinished History of the Revolution of 1688; to Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs; to Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time; and Lord Dartmouth's Notes upon that History; to Evelyn's Letters and Diary; and (not to make this list too long) to Ralph's History of England during the reigns of Charles II., James II., King William, &c.

END OF VOL. VIII.



